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ART. I.—CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.*

THOUGH Canada contains only a small population and still occupies a relatively unimportant position among the peoples of the world compared with the great American Republic on her borders, yet there are many features of her political development which cannot fail to be deeply interesting and instructive to the student of political science. Within a very few years she has made remarkable strides in the path of national progress through the influence of a political system eminently adapted to stimulate the best energies and expand the thought and intellect of her people. Indeed, the prominence Canada has suddenly attained can be seen from the attention that is now being directed to her affairs and her future destiny. It would seem, in fact, that her industrial prosperity and political development have evoked so much interest in the minds of the politicians and journalists of the United States, that they are now considering whether a country which has evidently so noble a future before it should not be gently cozened into giving up all her dreams of ambition and be drawn as soon as possible into the seductive

* This paper contains the material parts of a series of lectures delivered at Harvard and Johns Hopkins' Universities, in the United States, and at Trinity University, Toronto, in the month of November last, and is now printed in full for the first time.

embrace of a nation which, with a curious oblivion of geography, has generally claimed the exclusive right to be called 'American.' Having a contemporaneous history on this continent, lying contiguous to one another from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, the two countries naturally offer many points of comparison worthy of the close contemplation of students and statesmen. Their political systems especially afford many materials for reflection, which, studied in a scientific and impartial spirit, may be made profitable to them both. The Canadian Dominion and the United States Commonwealths trace most of the political institutions they possess to the great British mother of all free governments, though in the course of many years diversities have grown up in the working out of those institutions, so that a mere ordinary observer is apt to forget their true origin and nature. But whatever divergencies there may be in the systems of the two countries, we can see after a little thought and study that they have arisen chiefly from the fact that Canada has remained a dependency of Great Britain, and consequently followed closely the constitutional practices of the parent state, while the United States, having long ago become a national sovereignty, has raised on the foundations of a constitution, based itself on principles drawn largely from those of the British constitution, a great structure which has in the course of years undergone many modifications in the working out of the original plans, in order to adapt it to the practical needs of the people and the conditions of a purely democratic government. The architecture may now be considered of a political composite order, in which we see that, though the design of the original founders has been varied in many respects, yet after all the very pillars that support the noble dome that crowns the edifice rise from the foundations of the common law, and of that parliamentary system which have enabled Britain, as well as the United States, to attain the foremost position among the nations of the world. It has been the good fortune of Canada to develop slowly under the fostering care of Britain, and to have been able to survey at a reasonable distance the details of the structure raised by her

neighbours; and consequently, when her statesmen came a quarter of a century ago to enlarge the political sphere of the provinces of British North America, and to give greater expansion to the energies of her people in the organization of a federal union, they were able to base it on those principles which the experience of the mother country and of their great neighbour showed them was best adapted to give strength and harmony to all the political parts, and enable them as a whole to work out successfully their experiment of government on the northern half of this continent.

It is not necessary to make any comparisons between the constitutional and political systems of Canada and the United States before 1867, when the provinces were isolated communities, offering many points of comparison with the old confederated colonies previous to the adoption of the present constitution. It is the Union of 1867 that now makes such comparisons possible, for then was adopted a federal system resembling in certain important features that of the United States, but, at the same time, continuing in the government of the country all the essential features of the British constitution. The two systems of government have each a central authority, and so many local organizations, known respectively as states and provinces. This central government possesses under the constitution control over all those objects of national import, which are essential to the security and integrity of a federal state. Canada, however, being still a mere dependency, is not sovereign in the legal sense of the term, since it cannot declare war or make treaties, those being powers reserved to the imperial authority of Great Britain, from which it derives its constitution, and which alone can change that fundamental law. The constitution of the United States places many difficulties in the way of amending that instrument, and it is only three-fourths of the states that can exercise such a power in the end.* To-morrow the British Parliament might change or

* Amendments are made in the same manner as the original constitution, by convention and ratification, or by proposition of Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the state legislatures. In the states the same is

revoke the constitution of Canada, just as in 1838 it repealed the statute giving a legislative system to Quebec, then called Lower Canada. Such a thing would be legal, although it is not probable or even possible. The British Government never moved in the matter of the present Union, until the several legislative bodies approached it formally by address, and asked that it should be conceded; and now should any change be necessary, it would be done only in the same formal manner, through the action of the Federal Parliament in the first place. The people speak only through their legislative bodies, and such a thing as a plebiscite or a popular convention on any proposed amendment is unknown to the constitution of the Dominion. The federation was brought about by the agency of legislatures, which were elected without any reference to this great constitutional change, and it was only in one province, New Brunswick, that the question came directly before the people at the polls.

Still while Canada is in this respect subject to the Imperial Government and cannot adopt any legislation that is incompatible with imperial enactments, or in antagonism to imperial obligations, yet it has sovereign powers within its own constitutional sphere. Its powers as enumerated in the law are large, and give it control over militia and defence, taxation on imports, foreign or British, and the jurisdiction over territories equal in area to the half of Europe. There is this important distinction, too, between the powers given to the Central Government of Canada and those placed by the constitution of the United States under the jurisdiction of the federal authority. The powers of the Dominion Government cover all those not expressly given by the constitutional act to the provinces—the very reverse of the principle at the basis of the United States instrument, which enumerates the powers of the federal state, and leaves in the states all those not so expressly given to the central authority. These enumerated

true, except that the proposition is by the legislature or convention, and the ratification is by popular vote. See *American Cyclopædia of Political Science*, Art. *United States*, p. 1005.

powers of the Washington Government have confessedly been greatly enlarged by judicial decisions which have recognized the necessity of 'implied powers' in the grant of powers expressly given by the constitution of the federal state. A similar recognition has been given by the Canadian Courts which have laid down the principle practically that the central authority in the working out of a power given it by the fundamental law may trench upon powers granted to the provinces—upon property and civil rights for instance, which are among the most important powers of these organizations. As in all written constitutions conflicts of authority are constantly arising in Canada between the respective legislative jurisdictions which have to be decided by the Courts, and already there are several volumes containing judicial decisions interpreting the law, and now practically become part of the constitutional system. There is one federal court, resembling the supreme court of the United States, but there are no federal courts in the provinces as in the states. The courts of the provinces decide on all constitutional cases brought before them, and there is no limitation placed on their jurisdiction over such matters, but there is an appeal to the federal Supreme Court or to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of Great Britain. The federal and the provincial courts do not interfere in any way with the exercise of the political power of the government. The judges of our courts are men of undoubted learning and of the strictest integrity, and their decisions are treated with the greatest respect.

If we come now to compare the systems of government possessed by the two countries we find that while both rest on the basis of the principles of the British constitution, yet there are very remarkable differences which have grown out of the diverse circumstances under which Canada and the United States adopted their fundamental law. The United States have now as an Executive a President elected by the people in all the states for a term of four years. He has the right to appoint heads of certain departments to which collectively the name of Cabinet has been given in the course of time by general consent, although the constitution does not provide

for a Cabinet in the British constitutional sense of the word. Its members are not responsible to Congress, although they can be called upon to report to that body at any time, and be examined before its committees on matters respecting their respective departments. In reality they are dependent only on the Executive who appoints and removes them, and responsible to him alone for the satisfactory performance of their duties. The power given to the President—generally called the ‘veto’—was borrowed from an old prerogative of the Crown which has now fallen into disuse, and the exercise of it in these times would create a revolution in Britain; but at the time of the formation of the constitution it was believed to be necessary as a check upon the power of Congress, and was given to the President as one of the most useful adjuncts of his executive authority. On the other hand the Governor-General of Canada, who is appointed to represent the Queen—the head of the Executive by the constitution—does not exercise the veto, although he possesses the legal right to refuse his assent to any bill. Here we have an illustration of the tenacity with which Britain and her colonies keep to the old forms which have practically fallen into disuse in the practical operation of their constitutional system. It is one of the results of parliamentary government which makes the advisers of the Queen or of the Governor-General responsible for all legislation. To call upon the Governor-General to exercise the veto after a measure has passed both houses would be practically a confession that his advisers did not possess the confidence of the legislature; it would bring into contempt that principle of ministerial responsibility to parliament which is the very essence and life of parliamentary government. It is a curious thing, however, that some lieutenant-governors of the provinces, in all of which parliamentary government exists in the full sense of the term, have more than once exercised the veto in the case of clearly unconstitutional legislation, but this has been done only in the smaller provinces, and it would be impossible to suppose it in the larger arena of the Dominion or of its great prototype, the Imperial Parliament. One explanation of

the exercise of it in the small provinces is, that the lieutenant-governors are, in a manner, officers of the Dominion Government, and may assume to exercise the veto in cases where there is a clear infraction of the federal authority; but this is hardly a sufficient reason in the face of the fact that the constitution plainly provides for reserving such legislation for the consideration of the Dominion Government itself, which should alone consider its bearing and effect, and disallow it if necessary under the fundamental law giving them such a power. Here I may conveniently refer to the fact, that the Governor-General, in the exercise of his authority as the head of the Executive in the dominion, has the right to disallow the acts of any provincial legislature—a power not given to the President—but it is a power he exercises only on the advice of his official advisers and not on his own responsibility. This question of disallowance, I have shown elsewhere,* is one of the subjects which have evoked much discussion since the adoption of the constitution. It is a power clearly to be exercised with great discretion, since the acts of political bodies are always regarded with more or less suspicion by those whom they affect. It is one of the features of the Canadian constitution that are viewed with doubt by many thoughtful statesmen and publicists in Canada, and there is a growing consensus of opinion that the more frequently all cases of constitutional difficulty are left to the courts, the greater will be the harmony and stability of the whole federal union.

In a brief summary I can, perhaps, best show the important distinctions between the respective systems of the government of the two countries. The American Federal State is governed by the following authorities:—

A President, elected by the people in the several states for four years, irremovable except by impeachment, exercising among the most important of his powers the right to refuse to approve of bills passed by the two Houses, which can only

* *Federal Government in Canada.*—Johns Hopkins' University Studies, 7th Series, x., xi., xii.

over-ride his decision by a majority of two-thirds in each body ; having the power to remit fines, reprieve and pardon for offences against the United States except in cases of impeachment, and the right to make treaties and appoint public officials subject to the ratification and confirmation of the Senate.

A Cabinet popularly so-called, consisting, strictly speaking, of heads of eight executive departments, without seats in congress, appointed by and responsible to the president, and without control over congressional legislation.

A Congress composed of two Houses—a Senate and a House of Representatives—called together at fixed dates under the constitution, but liable to be convened on extraordinary occasions by the President, not to be dissolved by the executive. The Senate is elected for six years, not by the people directly, but by the legislatures of the states which are equally represented,—one-third being renewed or changed every two years; having co-ordinate powers of legislation with the House of Representatives except as to the initiation of revenue bills, which, however, they can amend ; having the right to ratify treaties presented by the President, and to confirm nominations to office made by the executive. The House of Representatives is composed of 330 members (including the new states), chosen every second year by the people of the several states, elected under the same franchises which elect members to the popular house of the state legislatures.

A Federal Judiciary, composed of a supreme court of nine members, of nine circuit courts, of fifty-eight district judges, of a court of claims, and of territorial courts—the judges being appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the senate, removable only for cause assigned and subject to impeachment.

A Civil Service, composed of officers of various grades, appointed generally by the president, whose nominations on certain cases require to be ratified by the senate—the tenure of office being still uncertain in consequence of the political difficulties that stand in the way of carrying out the Pendleton

Act, which was the first practical move in the direction of a wise reform.

In Canada, on the other hand, the Dominion Government may be divided into the following departments:—

The Queen, legally the Executive, but represented for all governmental purposes by a Governor-General, appointed by her Majesty in council during pleasure, though practically irremovable except for cause during his term of office, responsible to the Imperial Government as an imperial officer, having the right to pardon for all offences, but exercising this and all executive powers under the advice and consent of a responsible ministry.

A Cabinet composed of thirteen or more privy councillors, having seats in the two houses of the parliament, requiring to be elected by the people of their respective constituencies in case of the acceptance of office, acting as a council of advice to the Governor-General, responsible to parliament for all legislation and administration, holding office only whilst in a majority of the popular branch.

A Senate composed of 78 members, with a representation of 24 for the Maritime provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island), Quebec and Ontario respectively, and the remaining members scattered over the other provinces and the territories, appointed by the Crown for life, though removable by the house for bankruptcy or crime, having co-ordinate powers of legislation with the House of Commons except in the case of money or tax bills, having no power to try impeachments.

A House of Commons of 215 members, elected for five years on a very liberal franchise and in electoral districts in every province, fixed in both cases by the Dominion Parliament, liable to be prorogued and dissolved at any time by the governor-general on the advice of his council, and having alone the right to initiate money and tax bills.

A Supreme Court of Canada, composed of a chief justice and five judges, acting as a court of appeal for all the provincial courts, but subject to have its judgments reversed on appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England, irre-

movable except on the address of the two houses to the governor-general.

A Civil Service, appointed by the governor-general on the advice of his council—that is, practically by the government of the day,—irremovable except for cause, governed by statutes providing in specified cases for examinations and promotions, certain important positions being still political appointments but not subject to removal in case of a change of parties.

Coming now to the various State and Provincial organizations we find that in the several states, generally speaking, the government is distributed as follows:—

A Governor elected directly by the people for a term of office varying from four years to one, and exercising in all the states except four a veto over the acts of the legislature which, however, can over-ride his determination by a majority varying in the different states. Four states place all legislative authority in the legislature alone. Generally in the states the governor has the pardoning power within certain limitations.

A Lieutenant-Governor elected by the people of the state at the same time as the governor, exercising no special functions except what arise from his position as a presiding officer of the senate, filling the place of the governor in case of death or incapacity.

Executive Councils in only three states, which practically represent an advisory cabinet; in the others, there are certain executive officials elected by the people for terms varying in the different states, having no seats in the legislature, and not exercising any control over its legislation.

A Legislature composed of two Houses in every state of the union. First, a Senate chosen by popular vote, generally in districts larger than those of the house, having a term varying from four years in the majority of cases, in others from three to one, half the members going out on the completion of their term and a new half being chosen. In all the states except one it is a tribunal of impeachment for certain officials, including governors.

A House of Representatives, or an assembly, or house of delegates in a few states, chosen by popular vote in the states, generally manhood suffrage, only limited by certain disqualifications of crime or bribery—the number varying from 21 to 321. Both houses have equal rights of legislation, except that the house of representatives in certain states can alone originate money bills.

A Judiciary elected by the people in the majority of states, in a few by the legislature, in others appointed by the governor, subject to confirmation by the houses or by the council, as in Massachusetts, holding office for a term on the average varying from eight to ten years, except in four states where the British system of life tenure exists.

A Civil Service, small in numbers and poorly paid, elected by the people generally, holding their positions on the uncertain tenure of political success and popular caprice.

The several Provinces of Canada have a system similar to that of the Federal Government, which may be generally distributed into parts as follows:—

A Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the governor-general in council practically for five years, removable by the same authority for cause which must be communicated to parliament, exercising all the political powers and responsibilities of the governor-general under the system of responsible or parliamentary government, having no right to reprieve or pardon criminals.

A Cabinet composed of certain heads of departments varying from twelve to five in the provinces, called to office by the lieutenant-governor, having seats in either branch of the legislature, holding their positions as long as they have the confidence of the majority of the people's representatives, responsible for and directing legislation, and conducting generally the administration of public affairs in accordance with the law and the conventions of the constitution.

A Legislature composed of two houses—a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly or Legislative Assembly—in four provinces, and of only one house, an elected body, in three provinces. The legislative councillors are appointed

for life by the lieutenant-governor in council, removable for same reasons as senators, must have a property qualification except in Prince Edward Island, where the upper house is elective; like the senate, the councils cannot initiate revenue or money bills, but otherwise have the same legislative powers as the lower houses. They have no right to sit as courts of impeachment.

The Legislative Assemblies are elected for four years (except in Quebec, where the term is five), but are liable to be dissolved at any time by the lieutenant-governor, acting under the advice of his council; elected on a franchise which is manhood suffrage in the largest and most populous province of Ontario, and practically the same in the smallest—Prince Edward Island—the suffrage being most liberal in the other sections, though generally based on property and incomes.

A Judiciary appointed by the governor-general in council—stipendiary magistrates, justices of the peace, and judges of probate being provincial nominees—only removable on the address of the two houses of the Dominion Parliament, except in the case of county judges, who may be removed by order in council for cause.

A Civil Service appointed by the lieutenant-governor in council, nominees in the first instance of the political party in power, but once appointed irremovable except for sufficient reasons.

As we compare these respective systems we can trace throughout, as I have already observed, the principles of the British constitution, an Executive, a Legislature of two houses, and a Judiciary. The application of the elective principle to the judiciary is a grave departure from the British principle, which Canada has carefully avoided, with most decided advantage to the administration of justice. The upper houses appointed by the Crown are less effective as legislative authorities than the senates, which have larger powers, and are in a more complete sense co-ordinate authorities in the legislative system. But the most remarkable example of divergence from the British system of government on the one side and of adherence to it on the other, is seen in the relations

of the Executive in the two countries towards the Legislature. In the United States, the Executive exercises no direct control over the Legislature through a Cabinet, and if it were not for the veto Congress would be practically uncontrolled in its legislation. In Canada, on the other hand, the Executive is practically the Cabinet or Ministry, who direct and supervise all legislation, as well as the administration of public affairs.

In the United States, when the constitution was formed, Parliamentary government, as it is now understood in Britain and her self-governing dependencies, was not understood in its complete significance; and this is not strange when we consider that in those days the King appeared all-powerful—he did not merely reign, but governed—and his councils were so many advisers always ready to obey his wishes. Ministerial responsibility to Parliament was still, relatively speaking, an experiment in constitutional government—its leading principles having been first outlined in the days of William the Third. The framers of the American constitution saw only two prominent powers, the King and Parliament, and their object was to impose a system of checks and balances which would restrain the authority of each, and prevent any one dominating in the nation. It is true, in the course of time, this system has become in a measure ideal, since Congress has practically established a supremacy, though the powerful influence exercised by the President at times can be seen from the great number of vetoes successfully given by Mr. Cleveland. In Canada, responsible or parliamentary government dates back to less than half a century ago, and was won only after years of contest with the parent state. Since the British system has been introduced into the provinces of the Dominion, there has been practically no friction between the different branches of government, but the wheels of the political machinery run with ease and safety.

The comparisons that have been drawn with such singular ability by Professor Woodrow Wilson and Professor Bryce between the systems of Congressional and Parliamentary government, show clearly in favour of the British system, and it is not necessary that I should do more than refer as

briefly as possible to the subject. Under the American system, the executive and legislative authorities may be constantly at variance, and there is little possibility on all occasions of that harmonious legislative action which is necessary to effective legislation. The President may strongly recommend certain changes in the tariff, or in other matters of wide public import; but unless there is in the house a decided majority of the same political opinions as his own, there is little prospect of his recommendations being carried out. Indeed, even if there is such a majority, it is quite possible that his views are not in entire accord with all sections of his party, and the leading men of that party in Congress may be themselves looking to a presidential succession, and may not be prepared to strengthen the position of the present incumbent of the executive chair. This nominal cabinet can and do give information to Congress and its committees on matters relating to their respective departments, but they are powerless to initiate or promote important legislation directly, and if they succeed in having bills passed, it is only through the agency of, and after many interviews with, the chairmen of the committees having control of such matters. If Congress wishes for information from day to day on public matters, it can only obtain it by the inconvenient method of communicating by messages with the departments. No minister is present to explain in a minute or two some interesting question on which the public wishes to receive immediate information, or to state the views of the administration on some matter of public policy. There is no leader present to whom the whole party looks for guidance in the conduct of public affairs. The President, it is true, is elected by the Republican or Democratic party, as the case may be; but the moment he becomes the Executive he is practically powerless to promote effectively the views of the people who elected him through the instrumentality of Ministers who speak his opinions authoritatively on the floor of Congress. His messages are generally so many words, forgotten too often as soon as they have been read. His influence constitutionally is negative—the veto—not the all-important one of initiating and directing legislation, like a

Premier in Canada. The committees of Congress, which are the governing bodies, may stifle the most useful legislation; while the house itself is able, through its too rigid rules, only to give a modicum of time to the consideration of public measures, except they happen to be money or revenue bills. The Speaker himself is the leader of his party so far as he has influence over the composition of the committees, but he cannot directly initiate or control legislation. Under all the circumstances, it is easy to understand that when the Executive is not immediately responsible for legislation, and there is no section or committee of the house bound to initiate and direct it, it must be too often ill-digested, defective in essential respects, and ill-adapted to the public necessities. On this point, a judicious writer says:—‘This absence of responsibility as to public legislation, and the promotion of such legislation exclusively by individual action, have created a degree of mischief quite beyond computation.’ And again:—‘There is not a state in the union in which the complaint is not well grounded, that the laws passed by the legislative bodies are slipshod in expression, are inharmonious in their nature, are not subjected to proper revision before their passage, are hurriedly passed, and impose upon the governors of states a duty not intended originally to be exercised by them, that of using the veto power in lieu of a board of revision for the legislative body; and so badly is the gubernatorial office organized for any such purpose, that the best intentioned governor is compelled to permit annually a vast body of legislation to be put upon the statute book, which is either unnecessary, in conflict with laws not intended to be interfered with, or passed for some sinister and personal ends.’*

Compare this state of things with the machinery of administration in Canada or Great Britain, and you will at once see that the results appear to be greatly to the advantage of Canada. Long before Parliament is called together by pro-

* *American Cyclopædia of Political Science*, under head of ‘Legislation,’ p. 754.

clamation by the governor-general, there are frequent Cabinet meetings held for the purpose of considering the matters to be submitted to that body. Each minister in due order brings before his colleagues the measures that he considers necessary for the efficient administration of his department. Changes in the tariff are carefully discussed, and all other matters of public policy that require legislation in order to meet the public demands. Bills that are to be presented to parliament are drafted by competent draughtsmen under the direction of the department they affect, and, having been confidentially printed, are submitted to the whole Cabinet, where they are revised and fully discussed in all cases involving large considerations of public policy. The governor-general does not sit in executive session with his cabinet, but is kept accurately informed by the premier of all matters which require his consent or signature. When parliament meets he reads to the two Houses a speech containing only a few paragraphs but still outlining with sufficient clearness the principal measures that the government intend to introduce in the course of the session. The minister in charge of a particular measure presents it with such remarks as are intended to show its purport. Then it is printed in the two languages, and when it comes up for a second reading a debate takes place on the principle, and the government are able to ascertain the views of the House generally on the question. Sufficient time is always given between important stages of measures of large public import to ascertain the feeling of the country. In case of measures affecting the tariff, insolvency, banking, and the financial or commercial interests of the Dominion, the bills are printed in large numbers so as to allow leading men in the important centres to understand their details. In committee of the whole the bill is discussed clause by clause, and days will frequently elapse before a bill passes this crucial stage. Then after it is reported from committee, it will be often reprinted if it contains material amendments. When the House has the bill again before it, further amendments may be made. Even on the third reading it may be fully debated and referred back to committee of the whole for additional changes. At

no stage of its progress is there any limitation of debate in the Canadian House. At the various readings a man may only speak once on the same question, but there is no limit to the length of his speech, except what good taste and the patience of the House impose upon him. In committee there is no limit to the number of speeches on every part of the bill, but as a matter of fact the remarks are generally short and practical, unless there should be a bill under consideration, to which there is a violent party antagonism, and a disposition is shown to speak against time and weary the government into making concessions or even withdrawing the objectionable features of the measure. When the bill has passed the House then it has to undergo the ordeal of the Senate, and pass through similar stages, but this is not, as a rule, a very difficult matter, as the Upper House is generally very reluctant to make many modifications in government measures. If the bill is amended, then the amendments must be considered by the House, which may be an occasion for further debate. Then having passed the two Houses, it receives the assent of the governor-general and becomes law. Under modern constitutional usage he does not refuse his assent to a measure which may immediately affect imperial interests and obligations, but simply 'reserves' it for the consideration of the imperial authorities, who must within two years allow or disallow it in conformity with statute. If the government should be unable to pass a bill of their own involving great questions of public policy, it would be their duty to resign, and then another ministry would be called upon to direct the administration of public affairs. Or they might ask for a dissolution, and an appeal to the people on the question at issue. At any rate, the people make their influence felt all the while in the progress of legislation. It is not as in Congress, where the debates are relatively unimportant, and not fully reported in the public press, and bills find their fate in secret committees. As the press of Canada is fully alive to the progress of every public measure, and the committee meetings are open to the public, all important discussions find their way from one end of the country to the other. Every opportunity is given for a full expression of public opinion, by

means of petitions, public meetings, delegations to the ministers, and representations to the members of each constituency. The government feel the full sense of their responsibility all the while, for on the popularity of their measures depends their political existence. An unfavourable vote in the House may at any moment send them back to the people.

In the case of other public measures which are not initiated by themselves, the government exercise a careful supervision, and no bill is allowed to become law unless it meets with their approval. The same scrutiny is exercised over private or local legislation—that is, bills asking for the incorporation of banking, railways, insurance and other companies for numerous objects, affecting private and public interests in every community. This class of bills falls under the denomination of local or private, as distinguished from those involving questions of general or public policy. In the United States Congress and State Legislatures, the absence of a methodical supervision by responsible or official authorities, has led to grave abuses in connection with such legislation. The ‘lobby’ has been able to exercise its baneful influence in a way that would not be possible in Canada where, as in Britain, there are rules governing the introduction and passage of such legislation, with a view of protecting the public, and at the same time giving full information to all interests that may be affected, and enable them to be represented before the legislative committee. We are told on the same authority from which I have already quoted, that ‘the influence of the lobby has proved so formidable an evil that many states of the Union have, within a decade, by acts of constitutional convention, or by regular amendments to their organic law, prevented their legislative bodies from enacting special laws in a variety of cases.’ ‘But,’ it is emphatically added, ‘the limitation of the power to enact private or special legislation has created in its turn an evil far greater than that which it was intended to stay.’ The result is that the whole body of general legislation ‘is thrown into the arena of special

interests, to be changed, modified, or destroyed, as special interests may dictate.’*

In Canada, there are general laws respecting railways, banking, and other great interests, and companies seeking incorporation must conform to them. The changing of a general law to meet a special case is carefully avoided. As in the parent state, there are special rules methodizing private legislation, and bringing it under strict legislative control. In the case of railway charters—very common of late years—there are ‘model’ bills which every company must follow. If any persons wish to obtain a charter for a private or local object—a railway, a bank, or a toll bridge, or other matter involving local interests and private gain—they must first of all give due notice of their intention in the *Official Gazette*, and in the papers of the locality interested, two months before the bill can be introduced. The time is limited when such matters can be brought up in the legislature. Petitions must be presented within a certain time, stating the nature of the application to the legislative branches; and when they have been received, they are referred to a committee, which investigates their contents and finds whether the rules respecting notice have been complied with. If the committee report favourably, then the bill, which must be first printed in the two languages, is introduced, and after its second reading, when the principle may be discussed if necessary—a formality, however, not generally followed in the case of private bills—it is sent to a select committee having jurisdiction over this class of measures. Before it can be considered in this committee all fees must be paid to the accountant of the House. Then, after due notice of a week and more has been given of the consideration of the bill in committee, it is taken up and fully discussed. All parties interested may now appear by themselves or counsel, and oppose or support the measure. Here the committee acts in a judicial capacity, and hears testimony when necessary. Ministers of the Crown have seats on these private bill committees, to watch over the public

* *American Cyclopaedia of Political Science*, Art. ‘Legislation,’ p. 755.

interests, for they never individually act as promoters of such bills. If the bill passes successfully through this ordeal, it comes again before the House for consideration in committee of the whole. At this stage, and on the third reading, amendments may be proposed after notice has been given of their nature. When it has passed the House where it originated, it is subject again to a similar course of procedure in the other branch; and hardly a session passes but a private bill, which has evoked strong opposition, is thrown out at these last stages. From the initiation to the passage of the bill, it is subject to the scrutiny of the legal officers of the department, whose duty it is at the last to revise and print it as passed. The lobby, as it is known in the United States, is not heard of, though there may be at critical times a little canvassing among members by those interested in the measure. The committees are so large—some of them two-thirds of the whole house—that a lobbyist would find it practically useless to practise his arts. Happily for the reputation of the country, the Canadian legislative assemblies stand very high compared with the majority of similar bodies in the American republic.

But it is not merely to the machinery of administration and legislation that Canadians direct the attention of their neighbours. The various statutes which regulate the election of members also seem well calculated to subserve political morality.

When we come now to sum up the results of the comparisons that I have been briefly making between the political systems of the two countries, I think Canadians may fairly claim that they possess institutions worthy the study of their neighbours.

We acknowledge that in the constitution of the upper houses, in the existence of the political veto, in the financial dependence of the provinces to a large extent on the Dominion exchequer, there is room for doubt whether the constitution of Canada does not exhibit elements of weakness. The Senate of the United States is a body of great power and varied ability to which the people may refer with pride and gratulation. The reference to the courts of all cases involving points

of constitutional interpretation, has also worked to the advantage of the Union. On the other hand, Canadians call attention to the following features of their system as worthy the serious consideration of their co-workers in the cause of good and efficient government on this continent :

An executive working in unison with and dependent on parliament, its members being present in both branches, and ready to inform the House and country on all matters of administration, holding office by the will of the people's representatives, initiating and controlling all measures of public policy, and directing generally private legislation.

An effective and methodical system regulating and controlling all legislation of a private or special nature, so as to protect vested rights, and the public interests.

A judiciary not dependent on popular caprice, but holding office during good behaviour, and only removable by the joint action of the two Houses and the executive of the federal state.

A large and efficient body of public servants whose members hold office, not on an uncertain political tenure, but as long as they are able to perform their duties satisfactorily, and who have always before them the prospect of a competency in old age at the close of a career of public usefulness.

A system of voting at elections which practically secures the secrecy and purity of the ballot, effectually guards the voter 'against ticket-peddlers, election workers, and spies, and takes the monopoly of nominations out of the hands of the professional politicians, and removes the main pretext for assessments upon candidates which now prevent honest poor men from running for office.'*

* See remarks of *New York World*, October 17th, 1889, on Ballot Reform. In Massachusetts, November, 1889, the secret ballot system of Canada was tried for the first time, with the result that 'the election was the purest, quietest, and most dignified ever run in the State.' Several other states have adopted the same system, and the probability is it will be generally in force before many months pass away. In the meantime Canada is an example to her neighbours in this particular, even while we admit that the system in some of the provinces can be improved in essential respects.

The jurisdiction possessed by the courts of trying all cases of bribery and corruption at elections, and giving judgments on the facts before them, in this way relieving the legislature of a duty which could not, as experience had shown, be satisfactorily performed by a political body influenced too often by impulses of party ambition.

The placing by the constitution of the jurisdiction over divorce in the parliament of the Dominion, and not in the legislatures of the provinces—the upper house being now, by usage, the court for the trial of cases of this kind, except in the small maritime provinces which had courts of this character previous to the federal union. The effect of the careful regard entertained for the marriage tie may be estimated from the fact that from 1867 to 1886 there were only 116 divorces granted in Canada against 328,613 in the various states of the Union.

The differences that I have shown to exist between the political systems of the two countries are of so important a character as to exercise a very decided influence on the political and social conditions of each. Allied to a great respect for law—which, I admit, is also a distinguishing feature of the American people, as of all communities of the Anglo-Saxon race—they form the basis of the present happiness and prosperity of the people of the Dominion, and of their future national greatness. It was to be expected that two peoples lying alongside each other since the commencement of their history, and developing governmental institutions drawn from the same tap-root of British law and constitutional usages, should exhibit many points of similarity in their respective systems and in their capacity for self-government. But it is noteworthy that their close neighbourhood, their means of rapid communication with one another, the constant social and commercial intercourse that has been going on for years, especially for the past forty years, have not made a deeper impress upon the political institutions of the Canadian people, who, being very much smaller in numbers, wealth, and national importance, might be expected to gravitate in many respects towards a nation whose industrial, social, and political development is one of the marvels of the age. Canada, however, has

shown a spirit of self-reliance, independence of thought and action, in all matters affecting the public welfare, which is certainly one of the best evidences of the political steadiness of her people. At the same time, she is always ready to copy, whenever necessary or practicable, such institutions of her neighbours as commend themselves to the sound judgment of her statesmen. Twenty-five years ago, at Quebec, they adapted certain features of the Federal system of the States to their own condition, and in the nature of things they must continue to refer constantly to the working of that constitution for their own guidance and instruction.

The questions will now probably occur to many—What will be the future of this country? Is it annexation to the United States? Is it national independence? Or is it a continuance of the present position of dependence on the parent state, or some condition of closer union with all sections of the Empire which will give greater strength to them all, and at the same time enable Canada to have more weight in Imperial councils? I do not wish to be drawn into the misty realm of speculative politics, but I think I can in a few words give an answer which will in a measure dispose of queries which may naturally occur to a student of our political growth.

The comparisons I have made between the two systems of government, if carefully reviewed, ought, I submit, to show that Canada has been steadily working out her own destiny on well-defined principles, and has in no wise shown an inclination to make the United States her model of imitation. I know of no political body in Canada—indeed, of no man of widespread influence, who openly avows himself a believer in annexation to the great United States Commonwealths. It is quite clear that the Canadian people, who have achieved a decided success so far in working out their plan of federal union on well-defined lines of action—in consolidating the union of the old provinces, in founding new provinces and opening up a vast territory to settlement—in covering every section of their domain with a network of railways—in showing their ability to put down dissension and rebellion in their midst—I think they are not ready, in view of such

achievements, to confess failure, an absence of a spirit of self-dependence, want of courage and national ambition, or incapacity for self-government, nor to look forward to annexation to the American republic as their 'manifest destiny.'

But if annexation is impossible, it is very unwise to continue the strained relations that have too long existed between the two countries. I should briefly sum up the feeling of the people of Canada on the several questions that have been matters of discussion for some time past in this wise:

Annexation to the United States is a measure generally and unequivocally disavowed by all classes of the people as contrary to the temper and interest of Canadians who are working out their destiny on well marked lines of difference from their neighbours.

The settlement of the Fishery difficulty is desired on such terms as will show that the people of the United States acknowledge the legal and equitable claims of Canada, and that the Canadians themselves are willing to meet their neighbours in a spirit of fair dealing and compromise.

Such a measure of Reciprocal Trade as will increase the commerce in certain natural products between the two countries would be popular on the whole—no political party in the Dominion being, apparently, ready to support any measure that will throw down customs' barriers, and practically form a commercial Zollverein, since it would in the opinion of all thoughtful Canadians mean the first step towards political absorption into the United States.

A complete Extradition Treaty is required between the two countries, which will deal effectually with all the 'boodlers' and other criminal classes whose presence in either country is not desirable; Canada having already shown her practical and prompt interest in such matters by passing a measure a year ago which is now under the consideration of the Imperial authorities, who in this respect have full control over the dependencies of the Empire.*

* Since this paragraph was written, an Extradition Treaty has been agreed to between Britain and the United States, and now it is hoped the Canadian Act can be carried out in its entirety.

All the people would welcome the placing of the bonding system beyond the danger of all aggressive measures in Congress who, by the passing of the Retaliatory Act towards the end of Mr. Cleveland's administration, threatened for a while the commercial and political relations of the two countries, as much to the injury of the United States as of the Dominion.

The opening up of all the canals and of the coasting trade of the United States to the Canadians is regarded as a measure tending to the consolidation of their commercial interests, and giving each of them a greater guarantee for friendly and uninterrupted intercourse.

The dream of the Imperial Federalists is a grand conception which was imagined by Otis and Shirley even in the middle of the eighteenth century. Already in Canada, as in the parent state, leagues have been formed in all the principal centres of thought to promote this great imperial scheme, and it is interesting to note that they comprise many men of standing, as writers, speakers, and thinkers. The idea of an imperial conference of representatives from all sections of the empire is now under consideration, and, ere many months pass, in all probability we shall see what immediate prospect there is of reconciling the diverse opinions on the subject, and suggesting some common basis of action. With the progress of self-government in Canada and the Australasian Colonies, the people of those countries have commenced to see that although they form part of the empire, and participate in all the advantages that can be derived from its obligations to assist in their defence, yet they have not attained the full dignity of citizenship—that they have not the same rights as the humblest voters in a county of England, Scotland, or Ireland, who can exercise an immediate influence on the complexion of the national Parliament, which has under its control the destinies of the whole Empire.

The question of national independence is practically connected with this federation idea. It is an argument of its advocates, that sooner or later the Empire will fall to pieces and the Colonies become independent nations unless they are

given a voice in imperial affairs and all sections united on a basis which will preserve the system of local self-government which each community possesses, all of them at the same time receiving the rights of full citizenship, and enabled to unite together for defensive and commercial purposes. No one who studies the history of the great colonies, especially of Australia and of Canada, but will see that there has been, for many years, a steady political development which has at last placed them in the position of semi-independent nations. The word 'national' is now commonly applied in the Dominion to all great measures affecting Canada generally as a self-governing community, and seems to show the tendency of political events for many years past. It is to direct the current of this political development towards Imperial consolidation that the Imperial Federalists are now so earnestly and ably working in all sections of the Empire.

It may be said—indeed I have myself heard it urged by Mr. Goldwin Smith, a gloomy thinker it is true, but worthy of attention in this connection since he appears to voice the opinions of a few others beside himself—that Canada can never form a united people, and agree as such in favour of a federation of the Empire, or become an independent nation. One staple argument of these pessimistic writers is the existence of a distinct French nationality, increasing rapidly in numbers, and exercising now, even more than in the past, a powerful influence on the political fortunes of the whole country. The history of this French race, who still remain to attest the ambitious designs of France on this continent, is deeply interesting to the political and historical student,* but the fortunes of the peoples who inhabit the valleys of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence have been very different. A number of French still live on the banks of the Mississippi and its devious bayous; a 'few acred farmers,' who speak a French patois, still live by the lakes of the Atchafalaya, or

'On the Acadian coast and the prairies of fair Opelousas.'

* See article on French Canada by the author in the *Scottish Review* for April, 1887.

And the old city of New Orleans has a Creole quarter, where the curious stranger can see quaint, balconied houses and many other objects of interest; but the remnant of the old French population of Louisiana cannot be said to exercise any influence on the political institutions of the state, and it seems likely in the nature of things that the French language will eventually disappear in a great measure from the country and few evidences remain of the old regime. But in the Dominion the picturesque banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries are the home of a million and a quarter of people, still speaking the French language, professing the Roman Catholic religion, and adhering with remarkable tenacity to the main features of the civil law, and to other institutions of the land of their origin. The history of this French population proves very clearly the beneficent operation of the liberal system of government which Canada has now enjoyed for nearly half a century. French Canada now occupies a prominent place among the communities of the continent, and many of her sons have been able to win for themselves a conspicuous place in the administration of public affairs, in education, in literature, in art and in other pursuits of life. They have thoroughly identified themselves with every movement to make the confederation a success. The influence of this people can be seen in the constitution and laws that govern the country. It is not strange that jealousies and rivalries at times arise between the two races that inhabit Canada, but the time is past, I certainly would fain believe, when the difference of race and religion can be stimulated into the bitterness of word and deed that existed previous to 1840, which was a turning point in the history of Canada; for from the moment Canadians, irrespective of nationality, were granted a full measure of self-government, and the French Canadian felt he had all the rights of manhood, the statesmen of all races and sects and opinions have laboured to build up a new England on this continent, with a sincerity and zeal that has already produced the most precious fruit. The existence of a federal union has given the French Canadians complete control of their own province, and the right to maintain their special institutions, and is the best

possible guarantee for the harmony and integrity of the Dominion. Their best men believe that absorption into the United States would be a death blow to their influence as a French Canadian people, and the history of their compatriots in Louisiana would be eventually reproduced in their own case. They are ready to work out their own destiny in unison with their British co-workers in the Dominion, and no influential man amongst them openly asserts so impossible and suicidal a scheme as the foundation of an independent French nationality on the banks of the St. Lawrence. The brilliant leader of the opposition in parliament only voiced the sentiments of his compatriots, conservative as well as liberal, when he said quite recently, in the face of a large British audience, in a western city: 'If there are any amongst my fellow-countrymen who have ever dreamed of closing themselves into a small community of Frenchmen on the banks of the St. Lawrence, I am not one of them. It would be an act of black ingratitude if, after we had sought from Britain the privileges and rights of British subjects, we were now to reject the responsibilities of subjects; if having sought the protection of Britain to grow strong, we were, when strong enough, to attempt to stab the friendly hand, and to refuse to cast in our lot with those who are fellow-countrymen of ours, and whose birthright we claim as our inheritance. When confederation was established, it was not intended that it should be based upon the humiliation of any one race; that any one should give up its characteristics; but it was expected that though every nationality might retain its individuality, yet that all would be actuated by one aspiration and would endeavour to form one nation.'*

But whatever may be the destiny of this youthful and energetic community, it is the earnest wish of every Canadian that, while the political fortunes of Canada and the United States may never be united, yet each will endeavour to maintain that friendly, social, and commercial intercourse which should naturally exist between peoples allied to each

* *Discours de l'hon. Wilfrid Laurier, à Toronto en 1889, p. 547.*

other by ties of a common neighbourhood and a common interest, and that the only rivalry between them will be that which should prevail among countries equally interested in peopling this continent from north to south, from east to west, and in extending the blessings of free institutions, respect for law, public morality, electoral purity, free thought, the sanctity of the home, and intellectual culture.

Full of the vigour of early manhood, conscious of the success which has already crowned her achievements in the contest for national life, possessed of self-reliance and confidence to hold her own on this continent, Canada looks forward to the future in the hope that the destiny which is now shaping her ends must sooner or later give her a higher position among the communities of the world.

‘Awake, my country, the hour of dreams is done !
Doubt not, nor dread the greatness of thy fate,
Tho’ faint souls fear the keen, confronting sun,
And fain would bid the morn of splendour wait ;
Tho’ dreamers, rapt in starry visions, cry,
Lo, yon thy future, yon thy faith, thy fame !
And stretch vain hands to stars, thy fame is nigh,
Here in Canadian hearth, and home, and name ;—
This name which yet shall grow
Till all the nations know
Us for a patriot people, heart and hand,
Loyal to our native earth ; our own Canadian land ! *

JNO. GEO. BOURINOT.

* This is a verse taken from a poem by a well-known Canadian, Professor Roberts of King’s College, Nova Scotia.

ART. II.—TRACES OF A NON-ARYAN ELEMENT IN
THE CELTIC FAMILY.

BEING THE SECOND 'RHIND LECTURE.'

IN the previous lecture I spoke of the Celts as Aryans, but there is no doubt, that the Celts of modern times are also to some extent descended from non-Aryan peoples conquered and absorbed by the Aryan element. For there is no reason to suppose, that the Aryan settlers of the Celtic lands of history found those lands devoid of human inhabitants. Thus, besides the mixture probably inherent in the race of the P Aryans in the first instance, the Aryans of both groups may be supposed to have mixed to a certain extent with the aborigines; but one may expect this to have taken place in very different proportions. Thus the Q Celts, arriving first in these islands, would come in direct contact with the aborigines, and the later advent of the P Celts would, to a certain extent, drive the former Celts to make common cause with the ancient inhabitants against the invaders. In other words, the pressure of the P Celts may be presumed to have forced the Q Celts into closer relations, political, social, and domestic, with the earlier occupiers of the soil. What effect this may have had on the language of the Q Celts of the Continent, that is to say, on the Celticans, we have no means of ascertaining; but we are somewhat better off when we come to that of the Q Celts of the British Islands, since their language exists in the Goidelic dialects, which still offer themselves for comparison. Whatever may have been the extent of the modification undergone by Goidelic speech in Britain, there can be no serious doubt that, when it was transplanted to Ireland, it found itself in the midst of non-Aryan surroundings, which may have exercised considerable influence on it. On the other side the fact of the P Celts coming in the rear of the Q Celts makes it doubtful whether the P Celts ever came in contact in this country with the aborigines before they had been Goidelicized, excepting, perhaps, on their northern boundary, wherever the line was

drawn between the Celts and the nation which survived in the North, as that of the Picts. Thus we may safely assume Welsh, Cornish, and Breton, to be freer from the influence of the non-Aryan element native to the British Isles than the Goidelic dialects can well have been. It is of importance to bear this in mind, since it is from a study of Goidelic that we are likely to obtain a faint glimmer of light on the pre-Celtic idioms of Ireland and the Pictland of the Scottish North. Let us, therefore, see how far this will help us.

One of the best defined things connected with Aryan speech is the system of personal names found to have been used by our Aryan ancestors. These names were usually compounds of more or less vague import, such as the Sanskrit Candrarâja, from *candra*, 'shining moon,' and 'râja,' 'king,' or the Greek *Διογένης*, meaning a descendant of Zeus, Gaulish *Πεννοουινδος* from *πεννος*, 'head,' and *ουινδος*, 'white,' meaning white as to his head or white-headed, in Welsh *Penwyn*, and in Irish *Cennfhinn*, of the same signification. The number of words used as the stock elements of such compound or Full Names, as they have been technically called, appears to have never been very great among any Aryan nation; and there would seem to have been a tendency for the members of the same family sometimes to retain the same common element in their stock of names, as may be seen, for example, from such groups as Segimer, Segestes, Sigismund, and Segisdag, all occurring in the family of Arminius; or take the following, from the genealogies of the Welsh kings, Cadwaladr, son of Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, or Artgloys, son of Artbodgu, son of Bodgu. Another way of preserving an indication of relationship was sometimes practised still more economically, namely, by merely reversing the order of the elements of the compound as, for instance, in the case of an inscription from South Wales, which commemorates Vendubarr, son of Barrivend. This would be in Irish, Fimubhar, son of Barfhinn, and in Welsh, Gwynvar, son of Berwyn, or White-head, son of Head-white. A fashion of this kind is not quite extinct in Wales, where you may find that John Roberts is the son of Robert Jones, or Rowland Thomas the son of Thomas Rowlands. More instructive for our

purpose, however, are the more exact parallels, such as the O. German Berthari and Hariberht, which appears in English as Herbert, just as in the case of the Servian Dragomil and Milodrag, of the Sanskrit Devaçruta and çrutadeva, or of the Greek Θεόδωρος and Δορόθεος. To say the least of it, these names cannot be said to yield the same sense, or an equally appropriate sense, when the order of the elements is changed, because, according to a rule of the Aryan languages, the prefixed word qualifies the one to which it is prefixed. Thus Θεόδωρος would have meant a god-gift, and according to the same rule Δορόθεος should have meant a gift-god, which can scarcely have been the meaning of the compound as a man's name; it looks, therefore, as if the rule was in this case suspended, and the compound taken as a merely arbitrary joining of two words, much as we do with proper names still. Take for instance such a combination as Brown Robinson; that does not mean the Robinson with brown hair or the brown coat, but a Robinson who has a Brown in his pedigree, or whose god-father bore the name of Brown. In point of fact the reason may have been quite different, and of so arbitrary a nature as to be only known to Mr. B. Robinson's parents, uncles, and aunts. One of each set of the ancient compounds, such as Θεόδωρος, had doubtless a distinct signification, but its elements had their relative position reversed in order to make a new family name, while the question of the meaning of the new compound must have counted as of little consequence.

Lastly, the Full Names of this Aryan system were frequently cut down to one of their two elements, as for example in the case of names like the Sanskrit Deva-datta, 'god-given,' çiva-datta, 'çiva-given,' and the like, which gave rise to the shorter name Datta, or the Greek names of the group Νικόμαχος, Νικόστρατος, and similar ones, which have standing by their side the shorter forms Νίκλας, Νικίας and Νικων. In two of the Aryan languages, Latin and Lithuanian, Aryan Full Names are hardly known at all, having probably been superseded by shorter ones suggested by them. This, it must be confessed, is rather a hypothesis than a fact admitting of proof, though it is scarcely to be doubted that the Aryan Full Names must at one

time have been normally represented in Latin and Lithuanian, both being languages which may be described as, in their later forms, much given to diminutival and hypocoristic forms. But the Celts retained the use of both kinds of nomenclature, the full names and the curtailed ones. I have already given instances of the former, and I need now only add, by way of giving a specimen of the latter, the name Catawc, in modern Welsh Cadog, as in that of the church called after the saint, Llan Gadog. This instance has the advantage, that we are told in the saint's life, that his baptismal name was not Catawc but Catmail, that is to say, in its later form Cadvael. This would have been in old Irish, Cathmál, and it meant a war-prince or battle-hero. It was a full name of the Aryan type, which had as its Welsh short form Catawc; but so far as we understand the relationship between these names, Catawc stood connected no more nearly with Catmail or Cadvael than with Cadwallon, Cadvan, or any other of the names beginning with the word *cat*, now *cad*, 'battle.' Similarly, to take an instance from the inscriptions of South Wales, the genitive Cunigni is the short name corresponding to full genitives like Cunocenni, Cunovali, Cunolipi, and the like, to which may be added Cunomagli, the antecedent of Conomagli. Cunign- is in later Irish Coinín, and in Welsh Cynin, as in the church name Llan Gynin, in Carmarthenshire. We have another short form of this series in Cunaci, now Cynog, as in Llan Gynog. So far as any rule can be made out as to the shorter forms, one may say that Cynin (Cunign-) and Cynog (Cunāc-) would be the forms suggested by names like Cunomagli-i and similar ones, while corresponding to Maglocun-i, we have Maelan (earlier stem *Maglagn-*) and Maelog. The exact relationship between these Full Names and their short correlatives is a subject on which more information is sadly wanting in the Celtic languages.

Enough, however, is known about both to enable us to identify traces of another and a very different kind of nomenclature in these Islands, a nomenclature which it will probably prove correct to regard as having come down from the non-Aryan aborigines. This is all the more worthy of notice as it

belongs to the Goidels and not, excepting as a very rare case of imitation, to the Brythons.

The proper names in point are not compounds or even single words, but follow a formula, which, in some respects, reminds one of Semitic names like *Abdastartus*, 'servant of Astarte,' *Abdiel*, 'servant of God,' *Obededom*, 'servant of Edom,' and the like. Take for instance the Goidelic name *Mog Néit*, meaning slave of *Néit*, where *Néit* is found to have been the name of a war-god of the ancient Goidels. At any rate that is the tradition handed down in *Cormac's Glossary*, whose author, *Cormac of Cashel*, lived in the ninth century. Another name of this same formula was *Mog Nuadat*, which means the slave of *Nuada*. Now *Nuada*, genitive *Nuadat*, is known to be the Goidelic form of the god's name which was in Welsh *Nûdd* and *Llûdd*, while in the Roman inscriptions found among the ruins of his temple at *Lydney* on the *Severn*, his name assumes the form *Nodens*, genitive *Nodentis*. Here it is right to say that though the meaning of the name *Nuada* is unknown, it is found to have been common to Goidels and Brythons, and declined like a Celtic word. So in this instance, possibly, nothing can be supposed to be non-Celtic except the formula of the name, *Mog Nuadat*, or *Slave of Nuada*. There is another point to be noticed here, namely, that not only was *Nuada* the name of a god, but so also probably was that of *Mog Nuadat*. It might therefore be objected that this instance is of no avail for the study of the proper names of men. The fact, however, is that no line of distinction can be drawn between the names of men and those of their gods; and it happens that some of the most familiar names of men have also served as those of gods. Perhaps one should rather say that they were in the first instance names of gods which were afterwards appropriated by men. Take for example *Toutiorix* as a name of *Apollo* among the *Gauls* near the *Rhine*, and meaning probably the king of the tribe or the community. In Welsh it is represented by *Tutri*, *Tudri*; a man's name, and we have its counterpart in Teutonic as *Theodoric*, well known in modern High German as *Dietrich*, and in Anglo-Saxon as

Theudric. In a word, such instances are so common that they suggest the larger question, whether the whole system of the compound names of the old Aryans was not first framed in reference to the gods and not their worshippers. Be that as it may, I come back to Mog Néit; and whether the first bearer of that name in Irish mythography should be regarded as a man or a god, we find the whole name (with its guttural silenced) in a form *Moneit*. Those who are familiar with the early history of this country will remember it as occurring in the Annals of Ulster, where they speak, under the year 729, of the engagement between Nechtan and Aengus. This has the additional interest of showing, so far as it goes, that the same peculiar system of proper names as in Ireland, obtained in this island, namely, among the Picts of Alban.

Other names of the same description are Mog Art, Mog Corb, Mog Lama, and Mog Ruith, in all of which Art, Corb, Roth, and Lama, may have been the names of divinities or some objects of reverence. This seems to have been especially the case with Corb, for besides Mog Corb or the Slave of Corb, one finds used as proper names such other instances as Fer Corb, 'Corb's Man,' Nia Corb, 'Corb's Champion,' besides more obscure ones such as Art Corb and Messin Corb.

Besides Nia Corb, already mentioned, we have a remarkable name, Nia Segamain, more correctly Nia Segamon or Champion of Segem; this, in its inscriptional form of Netta Segamonas, occurs on no less than three Ogmic monuments in the South of Ireland; and we know that Segamonas is the genitive corresponding to a Gaulish dative Segomoni used as one of the names of a Celtic god equated with the Mars of Latin theology. Thus by a name, Netta Segamonas, we are to understand one which meant the Champion of a Celtic Mars, called Segem. Other names like it appear in the Ogmic inscriptions of the South of Ireland, but they are more obscure, although they follow the same formula. The pedigrees, however, supply more instructive instances, such as Nia Febis, of which it may be here remarked that Febis is said to have been the mother of several remarkable characters in the epic stories of Erin, namely, of the great druid or magician, Mog Ruith,

of Lóch Mór, one of the most formidable of the antagonists of Cúchulainn, and of Echaid Mumo, usually regarded as the eponymous hero of Muma or Munster. Thus one cannot probably be far wrong in regarding Febis, from whom Nia Febis takes his name, as a goddess of the ancient Irish. Lastly, a name, Niad Fraich or Nad Fraoich, occurs; it is derived from the name of Fraech, a hero or divinity figuring in various Irish stories, especially that of the Táin, where his death at the hands of Cúchulainn is described. Fraech was the son of Buan, Queen of the Fairies, and a fairy host come and carry away Fraech's body with loud lamentation.

Another class of names was formed with the help of *fer* 'man,' such as Fer Corb, 'Corb's Man,' Fer Tlachtga and Fer Ceirtne. The first of these is based on the name of Corb, and the second on Tlachtga, the name of a daughter of Mog Ruith, and a goddess or heroine who has a considerable place in the legends of the Western Gael.

Another word of much the same import as mug or mog, 'slave,' is *mael* (in Welsh *moel*, 'bald,') in such names as Mael-Patraic, 'the tonsured (man) of St. Patrick,' Latinized Calvus Patricii, and Anglicized Mulpatrick. A still more familiar name to you is Mael Coluim, 'the tonsured man of Columba,' Anglicized Malcolm. Add also Mael Muire, 'the tonsured man of the Virgin Mary,' sometimes Latinized Marianus. This class of names was not confined to males: witness such instances as Maelmedha and Mael Febhail, borne in the ninth century by women mentioned in the Four Masters' Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland. The best known examples of names of this formula seem to be Christian, but the formula itself is pagan, and probably ancient. Take for instance such a name as Mael Uma, borne by Baetan mac Cairill's son, who came over to this part of Britain to help Aidan and his Dalriad Scots, and to fight against the Angles of Northumbria. Mael Uma means 'the tonsured man of Uma,' where Uma literally means nothing but bronze, possibly bronze fashioned into a sword or spear. But whether one is to regard the bronze weapon as here personified, is not certain; for it was not unusual with the ancient Irish to personify their swords: we read that they

swore by their swords and that their swords were supposed to contradict them in case of perjury. A more decisive instance perhaps as to the non-Christian origin of the formula is offered by a name Maelgenn given, in the story of Cormac mac Airt, to a druid contemporary with that Irish king. Cormac allowed himself to be converted to Christianity, at which the druid Mailgenn was so angry that he sent demons, so goes the story, to encompass the king's death, which they did by interfering to cause the bone of a salmon to stick in Cormac's throat so as to kill him. The druid's name Maelgenn appears to have meant 'the tonsured man of Genn,' a name which can be approximately identified. For we find three brothers Gann, Genan, and Sen-gan or old Gann, associated as leaders and kings of the mythic peoples of the Fir Bolg and Gaili6in, whom Irish legend mixes up with the ancient inhabitants of Ireland. So one could scarcely err in regarding Genn as the name of one of the ancestors, probably reckoned divine, of the non-Celtic race in Erin. In any case the fact of the name Mailgenn being borne by an Irish druid or magician hostile to Christianity, is fairly conclusive as to the formula of it having originated in pagan times, as well as among a non-Aryan race.

Other words were used in forming names of this kind, such as *c6le*, 'companion or attendant,' as in C6le Petair, 'St. Peter's attendant'; and in this way was formed the term C6le D6, 'Servus Dei,' which is Anglicized Culdee, and was once the name of a whole class of hermits: compare the Welsh *meudwy*, 'a hermit,' which literally meant also 'the slave of God,' and was very possibly first suggested as a translation of the Irish term. A still better known word in this respect is *gille*, 'a boy or attendant,' as in Gillechrist, 'servant of Christ,' Gillepatraic, 'servant of Patrick,' Gilleain, 'servant of John'; whence with *mac* prefixed comes the name Maclean, and Gillefinnen, whence similarly Maclennan. It is needless to add other instances, and I will only mention that, under the influence of Irish Christianity, a few names were formed by the Brythons after the Irish pattern, such as Gwas Dwyw, 'God's Slave,' Gwas Sanffr6d, 'St. Bride's Slave,' Gwas Teilo, 'St. Teilo's Slave,' and Gwas Patric, 'St. Patrick's Slave.' This

last became historical in Strathclyde and well-known in the form of Quospatric and Gospatrick, also written Cospatric. Of the relations of the earl Gospatrick with William the Conqueror and with the Scotch king, Simeon of Durham speaks at some length, and how Gospatrick finally stood on the Scotch side is well-known. Perhaps as compared with the other names which have been mentioned, those formed with the word *gille* are to be considered comparatively late: hitherto I have not lighted upon one which could be said to be for certain of pagan origin.

The formula of these names one and all, if non-Aryan, as I believe it to be, goes to prove a fusion of an Aryan race with another people existing formerly in Ireland, and probably also in the north of this island, especially those parts occupied by the Picts. In fact such names were to be found at home more especially among the Picts. Take for example that of Macbeth, Maelbeth, and Maelcon. The Norse sagas which speak of the affairs of North Britain, know nothing of Duncan; but they speak of Karl Hundason, or Churl Hound's Son, in whom we seem to have a reference to Macbeth, with Beth rendered *lund*, 'a hound.' That this conjecture is worth considering follows from another fact: when Cnut came to the North, three princes made homage to him, namely, Malcolm, a certain Jehmarc, whose name, evidently corrupt, has been identified by Dr. Skene with Imergi borne by one of the chiefs of the Isles, and a certain Maelbaethe, whose name in its more usual spelling would be Maelbeth. For this name occurs elsewhere, borne, for example, by an Irish abbot of Devenish in Lough Erne, whose death is given by the Four Masters under the year 944. Nor was king Macbeth the first Pict alluded to by that name in this country; for the Norse sagas mention a Magbiodr fighting with the earl Sigurd, and long before that we read in the Saxon Chronicle of an Irish pilgrim of the name Macbethu paying a visit to the English king Alfred. So both Macbeth and Maelbeth were real names current both in Ireland and in the land of the northern Picts. Now it has been argued that the Maelbeth who did homage to Cnut must have been no other than the Macbeth who became king of Scotland; for

St. Berchan gives Macbeth thirty years of power, which, reckoned backwards from the date of Malcolm's accession in 1058, carry us back near the time when a mormaer of Murray died in the year 1029. Then Macbeth may have been already in power, so that the Maelbeth who did homage to Cnut may be argued to have been Macbeth.

But when it is further suggested that the name Maelbeth was an error for that of Macbeth, the source of the error is left unexplained to an extent it need perhaps not be; for it is possible to take another view of it, namely, as in the case of the name Mog Nuadat or 'the Slave of Nuada.' Now Mog Nuadat is the common form of that name in Irish literature, but we know from Cormac's Glossary that the name was in full, and in what may be presumed to have been a more original form, Mog Mac Nuadat or 'the Slave Son (or Boy) of Nuada.' Similarly I should suggest that the Pictish prince was called in full Mael Mac Beth 'the tonsured man Son of Beth,' and that this name, Mael Mac Beth was shortened sometimes into Maelbeth and sometimes into Macbeth. So it would scarcely be right to say, that there was any error there to be explained away. That is not all, for this conjecture accounts satisfactorily for the Norse name, Karl Hundason, where *karl*, meaning 'a churl or common man,' just renders *mael* as the Irish for a tonsured man or a servant. If I am right in treating Beth as the equivalent of the dog or hound of the Norse Hunda-son, we may be said to be here on the track of an ancient totem of the non-Celtic peoples of these islands. But Macbeth and Maelbeth would have to be regarded as containing a non-Celtic word retained untranslated; when fully translated into Goidelic they appear, according to the view here advocated, as Mac Con and Mael Con, Hound's Son and Hound's Slave respectively. The latter name, Mael Con, figures more than once in the background of the history of the Northern Picts, for their powerful monarch in the time of St. Columba was Brude Mac Maelchon, called by Bæda, *Bridius filius Meilochon*, and some two centuries later another Brude Mac Maelchon, who, opposed to Aengus, was conquered by him in the year 752. As to Mac Con, a personage of that name

figures largely in Irish mythography, being made, among other things, to pass a part of his time in Britain and to die in Munster. This Mac Con may perhaps be regarded as one of the mythic ancestors or representatives of the non-Celtic race here in question.

This sort of name cannot be dismissed without directing attention to a considerable class of Irish names in which the bearer of each is styled a hound. The best known, perhaps, is that of the hero Cúchulainn, which means the Hound of Culann the Smith: both names, Cúchulainn and Culann, may be perhaps unhistoric, but that does not touch the historical character of the names; they appear from the beginning of the 6th century down. Take, for example, Cú Ulad, 'Hound of the Ultonians,' lord of Uachtar-thire in the present County of Down, who died in 1061; Cú Cuailgne, 'Hound of Cuailgne,' who in 1011 kills the chief of Conaille, including the district called Cuailgne or Cooley, as its name is pronounced in English; Cú Corb, mentioned in connection with a battle supposed to have taken place in 506; and Cú Coigriche, 'Hound of the Frontier'; Anglicized Cucogry, the name of a distinguished historian of the 17th century, who was one of the so-called Four Masters. A trace of a Christian use of *cú*, much in the same sense probably as *mael* or *gille*, seems to occur in the name Colman Canis, known only in this Latin form in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*. In Irish it would possibly have been Cú Cholmán. But, as in the other instances, there can be no doubt that the formula was a pagan one. It occurs, in fact, on an inscribed cromlech in Kerry, where one reads in ancient Ogam, Conu-Nett maqi Conu-Ri, which put into the nominative would be, in modern Irish, Cú-Néit mac Con-Ri, that is to say, Néit's Hound son of Ri's Hound. The spot is near the high mountain now called Caher Couree, that is to say, Cathair Con Ri or the Arx of Cú Ri, where Cú Ri is the name of a mythic personage filling a great place in Irish legend, and more commonly called Cú Roi mac Daire in modern Irish.

The Dalriad Scots used the same sort of names, as will be seen by a glance at the early history of Scotland, where such

instances occur as the following: Cú cen Mathair, 'Hound without a Mother,' the name of one of the sons of Echaíd Buide, son of Aidan. This name, strange as it sounds, was well known in Ireland, and borne, for instance, by a king of Munster said to have died in 664. A man called Cú Bretan, son of Congus, is mentioned dying in the year 740; his father, Congus, was probably the same Congus whose kindred struggled against the power of Aengus and the Men of Fortrenn. Cú Bretan meant seemingly the Hound of the Brythons in the sense, presumably, of one fighting against them, though the contrary would seem to be the case with regard to Cú Ulad, 'Hound of the Ultonians,' and Cú Caratt, 'Hound of the Friend or Kinsman,' in both of which and many others the idea seems to have been that the man was to be the champion and defender of those whose hound his name described him to be. Another of the names here in point was Cú Cuaran, in Latin *Canis Cuaran*, king of Picts and Ultonians, whose obit is to be found under the year 706. Cú Cuaran means Cuaran's Hound, as to which one has to add that Cuaran occurs as the name of a Munster saint, called Cuaran the Wise, but whether Cú Cuaran was so called after a saint or not, the name meant Cuaran's Hound, and accordingly the well-known name of Anlaf Cuaran meant Cuaran's Anlaf, but why Constantine's son-in-law and ally against Æthelstán should have been so designated is not recorded.

Besides these names with cú, 'hound,' the word Cuilen, 'whelp,' is found to have been not unknown as a royal name in Alban, as for instance in the case of the king, called Cuilen, son of Indulph, in the 10th century; it was a common name also in Ireland. But more interest attaches to a name Macmisi, for Fergus Mór mac Erc is said to have been otherwise called Macmisi Mór, where Macmisi is to be analysed into *Mac Mise* or 'the Son of Mes,' and the latter word occurs in the Irish, mess-chú, which is explained to mean a lap-dog or a pet dog. Here, however, cú is probably employed as originally explanatory of *mes* which occurs in a proper name, Messbua-challo, which would seem to have meant Shepherd's Dog, though it designated the mother of Conaire Mór, a king of

Tara, famous in Irish legend. His name, Conaire, is also derived from *cú*, 'hound,' genitive *con*, though in what sense it is impossible to say, whether as resembling a hound or as having to do with hounds: in this last respect nothing is known except that he owned a famous dog: compare the Welsh name Cynyr of the father of Kei or Cai, Arthur's butler. In any case, the Irish myth makes Conaire son of Messbuachallo and of a father named Edersceol of the race of Ier or the Erna of Munster, that is to say of the non-Aryan race of the south-western portion of Ireland; and the whole story is a remarkable instance of the native element making its influence perceptible in the legends of that country. Further, a name Mes Corb is found borne by the eponymus of a clan located in the hills of Wicklow, and calling itself Dál Mes Corb, or Dal Messin Corb, the Division or Sept of Mes Corb. The latter's name, as meaning Corb's Dog, is to be compared with the other Corb names, such as Fer Corb, Nia Corb, Art Corb, Mog Corb, but more especially Cú Corb or Corb's Hound.

Lastly, there is another curious name somewhat of the same type as Cuilen, 'whelp,' but the interest attaching to it is far greater: I allude to the name Moddan, which is probably to be explained as meaning a dog or whelp, and of the same origin as the Irish word madadh, 'dog.' In the history of Scotland, the best known bearer of the name was perhaps Moddan, Karl Hundason's brother or brother-in-law, who was defeated in the war with Thorfinn and slain by Thorfinn's general, Thorkell Fostri. This Moddan is doubtless the name which some of the Sagas have rendered Hundi, which may be explained as a derivative (formed after the fashion of Norse names) from the word hund, 'hound or dog.' Further, Hundi Earl was the name also given by the Norsemen to a chief who fought with Sigurd the Stout, earl of Orkney, in a previous age. It may also be mentioned here that more than one Norseman of mixed descent in the Orkneys is alluded to under the name of Hundi or of Hwelpr, that is to say, 'Catulus or whelp.' As you all know, a Saint Modan is mentioned by Sir Walter Scott in his Lay of the Last Minstrel, where the words run thus:—

‘Some to St. Modan pay their vows,
Some to St. Mary of the Lowes.’

It is perpetuated in Ireland in the name of Kilmodan Abbey, in County Longford; and the ancient genitive of the name occurs in an Ogmic inscription at a place called Windgap, in the north of the County of Waterford: it is there written Moddagni, and the man so-called belonged to one of a people designated Mocu Luguni, whose name appears in various parts of the south and west of Ireland. Before dismissing this name, I must call your attention to what may probably be regarded as a dialectic variation of it, taking the form Muadhan: it was borne by a character figuring in the epic story of Diarmuid and Grainne. We read as follows:— ‘Diarmuid and Grainne rose early on the morrow, and journeyed straight westward until they reached the marshy moor of Finnliath, and they met a youth upon the moor, and the feature and form of that youth were good. . . . Diarmuid greeted that youth, and asked tidings of him. “I am a young warrior, seeking a lord,” quoth he, “and Muadhan is my name.” “What wilt thou do for me, O youth?” said Diarmuid. “I will do thee service by day, and I will watch thee by night,” said Muadhan. Then they made bonds of compact and agreement one with the other, and journeyed forth westward—I ought to have said that Diarmuid and Grainne were all this time fleeing from one place to another before Finn Mac Cumbail and his Fiann—until they reached the Carrthach; and when they had reached that stream, Muadhan asked Diarmuid and Grainne to go on his back, so that he might bear them across over the stream. “That were a great burden for thee,” said Grainne. Then he nevertheless . . . bore them over across the stream.’ We have a long account of Muadhan’s services to Diarmuid and Grainne, including his carrying Grainne for a mile or two every now and then when she was tired of walking; but the part of his doings I wish particularly to direct your attention to is the following: one day when Finn’s men were on the heels of Diarmuid, a venomous hound of the most formidable description was let loose on the fugitives. On that occasion Diar-

muid's big servant asked the former to walk with Grainne whilst he, Muadhan, warded off the bloodhound. The story proceeds thus:—'Then Muadhan went back and took a hound's whelp from beneath his girdle, and set him on the palm of his own hand, and when this whelp saw the pursuing hound rushing towards him with his jaws and throat open, he rose from Muadhan's palm and sprang into the gullet of the hound, so that he reached the heart and rent it out through his side; then he sprang back again upon Muadhan's palm, leaving the hound dead on the plain.' Not long afterwards, Muadhan takes his leave of Diarmuid much against the latter's will, and it is to be noticed that the district here in question extended from Dunkerron Mountains south-west of Killarney to Limerick and the Shannon: here Diarmuid as a hero of the west was at home. The big man who offers him his best services may probably be regarded as in some way representing the Ivernian and native population of Munster, and the invincible little dog which he carried about on his person may be taken as the form given in this story to one of the principal totems of the race.

While I am on this question of totems, I should like to lead you back to an incident in the story of Cúchulainn's death. Before the hero of an Irish epic tale succumbs to his fate, he is made to violate his *gessa* or break his taboos: this happens in the case of Cúchulainn, for, as he hies forth against his foes on the fatal day, he is asked on his way to turn aside and partake of food which is cooked by three one-eyed hags; it was moreover dog's flesh. He resisted for some time, for it was one of Cúchulainn's *gessa*, we are told, not to eat of the flesh of his namesake; at last he gave way, but it was with the result that the usual strength abode no longer in his arm, or even in the side of the body which had touched the meat. The way in which Cúchulainn's objection to partaking of dog's flesh is expressed in the story suggests, that the idea was not wholly unfamiliar in ancient Erin, that some mysterious connection existed between the human namesake and the animal whose name he bore.

The prominence given to proper names involving an

apparent reference to the dog is to be accounted for, in part perhaps, by the fact that the word was used in a very wide sense, as the Goidel has been in the habit of calling the wolf, the fox and the otter, each a dog; that is respectively wild dog, red dog, and water dog. With regard to the otter, it may be mentioned that the names of the nobles of Buchan in the *Book of Deir* contain among them not only a Mac Bead, Bede the Pict, Matáin, and Matadin the Judge, all of which are here in point, but also the name of a man described as son of Mac Dobarchon, whose name means 'Son of the Water-dog or Otter'; and one would perhaps not be far wrong in supposing, that we have water-dog left untranslated and, probably, to some extent inaccurately written in the strange looking name of Usconbutis in the *Pictish Chronicle*, where it is said to have been borne by one of the early Pictish kings. As to the fox, it had, of course, other names beside that of red dog, such as *sinnach*, which appeared occasionally in Irish nomenclature, where such names may be instanced as O'Sinaich and O'Sinacháin; and fox also was the meaning of the name Loarn, whence Cenél Loairn or the Race of Loarn, one of the three branches of the Dalriad Scots, so called from an ancestor Loarn Mór, or the Great Fox. This totemistic name gives its designation to the marquisate of Lorne at the present day. In North Wales an ancient inscription occurs dating probably from the fifth or sixth century, and giving a name of this kind, translated into Latin as *Filius Lovernii*, 'Son of the Fox Man.'

Let us return for a moment to the wolf, which besides being called some kind of dog, such as the wild dog or the dog of the woods, had also the peculiar appellation of Mac Tire, meaning literally the Son or the Child of the Land, which would seem to imply that the wolf was once regarded as the aboriginal inhabitant, the veritable autochthon of the country. If this should seem not sufficiently to the point, let me call attention to what Giraldus says of the descendants of the Faelchú or wolf of Leinster: they were to be found in Ossory, that is, approximately, the modern counties of Kilkenny and the neighbouring portion of Ormond or East Munster. Giraldus Cambrensis relates a story about one of these human wolves

meeting a priest in a wood and begging of him to administer the sacrament to her, which he did after hearing her account of herself. In return for his kindness she prophesied to him of the coming of the English to conquer Ireland. But a more interesting account occurs in the Irish version of Nennius, where the wolf-people of Ossory rank as the fourteenth wonder of Ireland. The passage freely translated reads thus: 'There are certain people in Erin, to wit, the race of the Leinster Wolf in Ossory, who pass into the forms of wolves [literally sons of the land] whenever they please, and kill cattle according to the manner of wolves, and they quit their own forms. When they go forth in the dog-forms they charge their friends not to remove their bodies, for if they are moved they will not be able to come again into their bodies; and, if they are wounded while abroad, the same wounds will be on their bodies at home, and the raw flesh devoured by them while abroad will be found in their teeth.' That is the Irish account of the descendants of the Leinster Wolf, and the anthropologist will readily recognize in it two orders of ideas. In the first place the going out of the men from their bodies is a part of the ancient idea of dreams, according to which the soul issued from the body and actually visited all the scenes which the dreamer seemed to visit, and it has been a matter of caution among savages in all ages not to move or wake a person thought to be dreaming, lest the soul should not find its way back into the body. That this view was acted upon in ancient Ireland can be proved from Irish literature. But that the soul, when it went forth from the body, should have the form of a wolf, is quite another matter, and seems to me to point to a survival of the totemistic idea as to those descendants of the Wolf of Leinster.*

These facts pointing to ancient totems I should refer to a non-Aryan source, as there is no good evidence of totemism to be extracted from our Aryan data, though I have little doubt that the Aryans once had their totems also; but it was earlier,

* The subject of lycanthropy is too large to be discussed here, but the reader may be referred to Clodd's *Myths and Dreams*, pp. 81, etc.

and the whole scheme had, as such, been blurred and obliterated some time anterior to that which can be reached by Aryan philology. However, this is only an inference, and the case as to a non-Aryan race in these islands must rest much more on the proper names, which yield us very definite non-Aryan formulæ. These, together with other indications of a like nature, go to make up a case against the notion that the Aryans formed the first and only human inhabitants of this country in early times; so the Celts of the present day represent in various degrees the two elements amalgamated, the Aryan conquering caste, and the non-Aryan aboriginal owners of the soil.

JOHN RHYS.

ART. III.—BIKELAS ON SCOTLAND.

‘Περὶ Σκωτίας ὑπὸ.’ Δ. ΒΙΚΕΛΑ.—Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1890.

THANKS to the two most Scottish Scotsmen of Scottish literature, Robert Burns and Walter Scott, there is no country in Europe, not even Italy, we fancy, that in recent times has been so largely betravelled and belauded as Scotland. Americans, of course, with their big purses and their old British memories go everywhere; for great troops of Englishmen, not to mention the attractions to a certain class of grouse-shooting, salmon-hooking, and deer-stalking, it would be a notable blank in the picture-gallery of their memory not to have cast a glance on the beauties of Rothesay Bay, Loch Lomond, and Loch Katrine, and to have made a dash, however hasty, in an Oban steamboat, to the imposing rock architecture of Fingal’s Cave and the sacred traces of Columba’s apostleship in Iona. An occasional Frenchman—though the Parisian is not a great traveller—could not avoid refreshing the memories of the old alliance between France and Scotland, on the monumental floor of Holyrood Chapel, or the castled prison of the unfortunate French-bred Queen in the wooded isle of Loch Leven. We had

a German, in the shape of Mendelssohn, accentuating the affinity between the Scottish and German minds in the phrases of one of our most popular songs; but a Greek, using the language of Pausanias and Tricoupi, to reflect the impressions made on living Greece for living Scotland, is here now, so far as known to the present writer, for the first time, in the k. Bikelas; and we welcome his appearance with great pleasure. It is not a big book to which the title, 'περὶ τῆς Σκωτίας,' introduces us; it is only a little volume of 70 pages; in fact an Address read to an intelligent society at Athens, rather than a book of travels, properly so called. But the smallness of the compass does not in any wise defraud us of the estimate which the writer makes of our country and our character; and this in fact is the valuable part of his work for us. The details of his tour, and the sketches of Scottish history, with which it is accompanied are familiar to us. But 'to see ourselves as others see us' is one of the most important steps towards the attainment of that just self-estimate without which no people, however highly gifted, can hope to reach the ideal, which it lay in their destiny to realize. A people may as lightly as an individual, and even more lightly, see its own virtues through a magnifying glass, while it remains blind to its most glaring vices; and on the other hand, it is quite possible, in certain unfavourable circumstance, and under the influence of the vulgar notion that 'far birds have fair feathers,' that a people may become blind to their own best virtues, and delight in prinking themselves with borrowed plumes, when a wing of the native quill would have been at once more vigorous and more graceful. From both these points of view, the k. Bikelas' unpretending little volume will be looked into by the Scottish people with no less profit than pleasure.

Our Hellenic visitor had the special good fortune to get his impressions of Scottish life and Scottish scenery not from following the beaten track of professional tourists, but under the guidance of one of the most Scottish of our Scottish nobility, the Marquess of Bute, whose hospitality he enjoyed. His starting point was Old Dumfries House, in Old Cumnock parish, with its fruitful orchard, umbrageous leafage, and historic tapestries, once the seat of the Crichtons, Earls of Dumfries, then of the

Dalrymples, and now, since the beginning of the present century, merged, through the female line, in the possessions of the illustrious house of Bute. From the seat of the Crichtons his kindly host led the k. Bikelas into the far west corner of Galloway, a district, both from its own beauty and its rich historical memories, well worthy of a special perambulation, but which, even in these days of omnifarious locomotion, is seldom honoured by a glance from the intelligent tourist. Here he had his dwelling in the old house of Mochrum, once the seat of the noble family of the Dunbars but, since the close of the seventeenth century, transferred by heritage to the Earls of Dumfries and the Marquess of Bute. The aspect of this stout old mansion, with its two square four-storey towers, gives our traveller occasion to moralize on the fretful and forceful history of Scotland in the olden times, when the country was governed not by the nominal king, who was generally a minor, but by the great families of the hereditary aristocracy, banded together to help one another, and to keep the monarch in convenient subjection. It is plain, he remarks, all the nobility of those days were more distinguished by manly stoutness than by great wealth. When in this neighbourhood also he passes under review the vitrified forts, old chapels, Roman camps, and other significant antiquities, all testifying to the ancient ecclesiastical, military, and political importance of the district. From Mochrum his noble entertainer led him through the wonders of steam and spinning-jennies and clinking hammers in the rainy capital of the West: thence through Stirling, and the fragrant memories of Wallace and the Bruce, to Falkland House, a recent purchase of the noble Marquess, and within shadow of the Fife Lomonds. Here, of course, the traveller again had his eye directed to the troublous times of early Scottish history, when the kidnapping of boy-kings was a common sport of the adventurous among the aristocracy; and being in the kingdom of Fife he could not fail to take note of the venerable site of the Patron Saint of Scotland, endeared to every Scottish heart by the threefold grace of Episcopal patriotism, heroic martyrdom, and academical learning. Hence, to make the Bute chain complete, our traveller was transported to the oldest family seat of his noble entertainer, and the shores of Rothesay

Bay, where he fed his eye on a landscape which, for a rare combination of picturesqueness and sweetness, may well bear comparison with any most pictorial spot on the Saronic Gulf or the Gulf of Corinth, or even with the world-renowned charms of the Bay of Naples.

We shall now, in reviewers' phrase, allow our traveller to speak for himself. On the general aspect of Scottish scenery, which has not a few points of striking similarity with that of Greece, he writes as follows:—

'Thanks to the many lochs and firths, stretching far inland on both sides of the country, but especially on the west, there is no district of Scotland situated at any great distance from the sea. The same may be said of the mountains; in whatever station he may take his stand, the stranger can never be more than fifty miles from the mountains. The mountains, with their deep crevices and long glens, their array of lakes and lakelets, fed by innumerable brooks that through rocky ravines and umbrageous thickets creep or leap down from the peaks of the Bens, the rivers that through the picturesque slopes of the green or purple braes, pour down the overflow of the lochs to the sea on either side, the comparatively large extent of sea-shore, now steep and bare, now sandy, or leafy green, all these things together go to constitute the rich and various beauty of the Scottish landscape. Add to this its wealth in pasturage for cattle, its carefully cultivated farms, its pleasant country seats, its trim villages; and its no less attractive treasures of historical monuments, whether standing out against time, or spread in massive ruin even more eloquent of the past; and you will understand how Scotland, from the commencement of the present epoch of easy local transference, has become more and more a potent magnet to attract the best class of tourists. And it only requires, I am proud as a Greek to say, a similar extension of railway and steam conveyance in our classical country to make the stream of tourists flow as largely to Athens as to Edinburgh; for we can not only boast picturesque beauties of landscape not inferior to those that adorn the slopes of Ben Nevis and Ben Lomond, but we display our beauties under a sun that shows its cloudless face as frequently, as in Scotland it is rare, and above all our historical memories, our sacred traditions, and our time-hallowed temples, models of taste as well as monuments of the past, invest Greece with a charm for the traveller, which to no other country in a like degree can belong.'

So much for the land. In the people, what seems to have struck him most was the array of naked feet, and in the Highland districts naked legs under the tartan kilt, that sometimes met his view. He distinguishes also between the Anglican and

the Scottish dialect of our common English tongue, stamping the latter as more cognate to Scandinavian, Dutch, Flemish, and other languages of purely Teutonic stock. In our national character, what as a living Greek struck him most was our steadiness and patient endurance. 'How frequently,' he remarks, 'when waiting at the station for the arrival of the train, have I had occasion to admire the quiet patience of the young Scot. I reflected with what lively demonstrations we, the most exacting of mortals, would have confessed our intolerance of any accidental delay or disorder connected with our small, recently-acquired railway service. The Scot, I fancy, feels as much as we do on such occasions, but he does not express it. For the most part, he is a silent man: avoids a flurry, and does not indulge, as we do, in unnecessary demonstrations about small inconveniences. Even the boys in Scotland play without noise. I remember on one occasion, when I had to wait at a station for a whole hour, I amused myself with observing a little boy playing with a young dog. The dog leapt, and ran, and came back and barked. The boy ran after him, teased him, and grinned at him in various fashions, but never spoke a word. What laughter, what cries, what exclamations would have been volleyed forth in such a dog-drama had the human performer been one of my fervid countrymen, and not a sober Scot!'

On these extracts, only one remark requires to be made. When a Greek talks of the neatness and trimness of Scottish villages, he must be understood as contrasting them in his mind with the comparative squalor of the general run of rustic dwellings in his own country, which has not yet recovered from the stamp of desolation that four centuries of Turkish domination had left upon it; for, had the comparison been made between the rural architecture of England, in Surrey and elsewhere—though no doubt there are visible signs of improvement here and there in the North—the honest verdict must have been, that, while the English cottage presents the ideal of an idyllic poetry in stone or brick, its Scottish compeer falls under the category of the barest and baldest prose.

The following extract on the sentiment of nationality, as represented in the works of Burns and Scott, will shew how

little an intelligent foreigner is inclined to sympathize with a certain class of Scotsmen at the present hour, who seem willing to sacrifice all that is most distinctive and most valuable in their native character and history for the pomp of a monstrous centralisation, and the glitter of the fashionable novelty of the hour :—

‘ Burns was essentially and predominantly a lyric poet. He was no innovator. He accepted the motive, the form, and style of his songs from the lyric poets of his country, but he excelled them all. He felt deeply and described faithfully the sentiments of his countrymen. In his inspiration everything is true and genuine : there is no preparation, no affectation, no machinery to catch by displays of cleverness the admiration of his contemporaries. From his humble point of life he cast a discriminating glance over the whole of society, and he looked on Nature with a penetrating eye, a clear intellect, and a warm heart ; and what he saw he expressed, not in cold rhetorical sentences, but in his own native dialect, the living language of his native country ; and he did this with such force, liveliness, and point, that at one stroke he raised the vulgar tongue of the peasantry into the dignity of a classical dialect of the English tongue.

‘ But the Scottish people look on Burns not only as their great lyric poet ; they owe to him a yet more important debt of gratitude. This great singer appeared at a time of great national decline. After a religious struggle of more than a hundred years, and the unfortunate issue of an ill-conceived rising in favour of the exiled Stuarts, exhausted Scotland was fain to submit herself to an incorporating union with England. The country remained not only without its own King, but without its own National Parliament, and ran the risk of being swallowed up wholesale by its bigger and more powerful sister. The inherited pride of the Scottish people in their stout nationality rudely shaken, could no more show face ; and the Scottish literary men, both in prose and verse, using the English language only as the medium of polite expression, were afraid of nothing so much as any touch of a patriotic hue in their cast of thought and expression. In the midst of this colourless, featureless generation, suddenly appeared Burns, choosing as the subject of his poems the Scottish life of the Scottish people, a subject unknown to literary Europe, and as the medium of expression the vulgar and despised dialect of his countrymen ; and in so doing the force of his genius enabled him to revive in their hearts noble emotions which had died out, and to fan into a flame the feebly flickering sentiment of national self-esteem. And let none of my countrymen in my native Greece imagine that I am using this strong language as a special pleader and with a special colouring as an advocate for the retention of our vulgar Hellenic speech. The substance of what I have here said I have taken from a recent English

biography of the poet, whose exact words I will here set down. "If at the present day," says the writer, "the Scottish people cherish the sentiment of their noble nationality more fervidly than their fathers in the last century, if they are proud of their country, and if strangers have learned to look upon it as the native land of poetry and patriotism, they owe thanks in the first place to Robert Burns, and in the second to Walter Scott. In the second place we say chronologically: because when Burns died in 1796, Scott was only 25 years of age; and it was not till the year 1814 that he commenced the publication of that beautiful series of Scottish novels with which his name is most closely associated. These novels, without doubt, gained for him a world-wide reputation incomparably above the praise of the poems, with which, after giving his left hand to the law, he commenced his literary career. These novels, based as they are on national history and topography, were recognised everywhere through the civilized world, and created a living interest for the country, wherever the volumes were read. Without Burns and without Scott, the great achievements and heroic struggles of the Scottish people, the striking incidents of their dramatic history, the sublime beauties, and characteristic picturesqueness of their scenery, would have been overwhelmed by a stream of cold academical propriety, and a flood of rhetorical commonplaces."

Our next extract starts from the Reformation, and after an oblique glance at John Knox, as a fanatic—a notion quite pardonable in an adherent of the Greek Church—our traveller goes on to vindicate to our Covenanters a place in the formation of all that is best in the Scottish character, too often ignored by persons nearer home who ought to know better.

'In Scotland, the Reformation began under the Catholic Queen, Mary Stuart, but was the work of the people, directed by that fearless, manly, and fanatical character, John Knox. This friend and follower of Calvin stamped from the beginning a democratic character on the Scottish Reformation, in conformity with which the Church gradually received its present Presbyterian type—without Bishops, without central authority, and without the least approximation to the ordinances, the pomp, the service, and the traditions of the old religion. The consequence of this was, that instead of a common struggle against Catholicism producing a more perfect sympathy between the two nations, on the contrary the difference between the two religious movements caused a marked estrangement between them; and this estrangement was intensified by the policy of England forcibly imposing her own ecclesiastical form on the Scottish people. The Scotch resisted with the most patient endurance the assaults and prolonged persecutions of the English, carried on to realise their favourite policy. Martyrs by hundreds were hunted down, tortured, and massacred. In the neighbourhood of Dumfries the country is studded

over with memorials of the Covenanters, which are looked upon with the utmost reverence. At Mochrum, from the top of one of the high hills, our guide, a simple peasant, pointing to a reach of the near shore, marked the place where two women were tied to stakes in the sand and left to perish by the advancing tide. In the end, the Scotch conquered. Their recognised national church is now Presbyterian. They conquered, but the people still retain the memory of their past wrongs : they forget neither the religious persecutions nor the antient history of their country. For two centuries England and Scotland have been one Kingdom. During all this time, the two countries have been peaceful neighbours, and a wonderful progress of the United Kingdom has been the result. The political union was a success, and Great Britain reached its highest point of prosperity. Nevertheless, the Union was looked upon from the beginning as a national decline. The common glory of the two Kingdoms was monopolised by England and the English name. The proud spirit of the Scotch endures impatiently this subordinate position. They see and enjoy the good result of the Union ; at the same time, they remain firm in the assertion of their own individuality. The Scot in the depth of his heart has no great attachment to the Englishman : while he no longer looks on him as an enemy, he feels that he is always a stranger. He cannot forget that the most glorious laurels which his country reaped were in contests with the English, and under the influence of this feeling he erects monuments and statues to Wallace and Bruce. In my last journey to Glasgow, at all the railway stations I saw pictorial advertisements of the panorama of the Battle of Bannockburn, then being exhibited in the Western Metropolis. The English, who inflicted so many severe blows on the Scotch, and who, since the Union of the Crowns, have fought in so many glorious battles, with them in the van of their victories, can well afford to forget their ancient hate, and to look with a certain large human sympathy on the glories of Bannockburn ; while the Scotch on their side repose in the proud consciousness that they were never a conquered race, and that they have the day of Bannockburn to point to as the root of their separate existence as a people, and the pledge of a distinct and well-marked nationality.'

One point remains, a secondary point no doubt, but in which no inconsiderable class of readers, may feel no secondary interest. In what sort of a language is this book written?—what is modern Greek? The general ignorance on this subject is so great that our traveller, among other questions with which his inquisitive fellow-travellers besieged him, was once asked if the members of the Greek Parliament did not conduct their debates in French!—a question plainly implying that in the mind of the questioner the dialect now spoken by the Greek people is so corrupt and barbarous, that it could no more be used as the

medium of intelligent public discussion, than the Lancashire dialect or Manx in the British Parliament. The origin of this crass ignorance is to be traced to our teachers of Greek in schools and Universities, who habitually talk of the language of Plato, Plutarch, and Chrysostom as a dead language, and teach it as they teach dead languages, in their bookish fashion, by the dry rules of a dead grammar, not by the living exercise of ear and tongue. How unreasonable this practice is, and how utterly opposed both to philological science and to practical utility, a single glance at any page of the k. Bikelas' little volume, will convince the most rudimentary Hellenist. The fact of the matter is that there is no such language as modern Greek, except in the sense that English is modern English, the difference between the current style of the Greek newspapers and the Greek of the New Testament, or between this and the Greek of Plato, being less than the difference between the English of Gladstone or Macaulay and the English of Chaucer. Not only is the so-called modern Greek not in any sense to the eyes of a philologer a new language, as Italian, Spanish, and French are distinct new formations from a common Latin stock, but through the whole course of the ages to the middle of the fifteenth century, and from that date downwards, historical conditions did not exist, such as permitted and favoured the degeneracy of the classical old Roman into the metamorphic types of the modern Romanesque languages; for up to the first of these periods, the Greek language flourished in unbroken continuity with much less differential change than the English language from the time of Barbour and Chaucer to the present hour; and after the unseating of the Byzantine Emperors, by the irruption of the Turks, the hostility between the cultivated sons of the Greek Church and their barbarous Mohammedan invaders, stood in the way of such a fusion of old and new linguistic elements, as under the action of the Norman invader, produced our motley English tongue. The strong repulsion between the Turk and the Greek, acted along with the rich inheritance of Christian and classical literature, the boast of the people, in preserving the language of Thucydides and Aristotle up to the present day, as the continuous growth of a distinct homogenous form of the great Aryan family; Greek

being thus preserved to us, as one might say, by a special grace of Providence, as the only living bridge between the past and the present of our European civilization. German is a language which, in contrast with our piebald English, makes a fair boast of its Teutonic purity; but with all this it is difficult to read a single column of a German *Zeitung* without meeting half-a-dozen French words, while in the whole 80 pages of our Greek book of travels, *Λόρδος* for, a lord, is the one foreign word on which we have stumbled. The material of what is called modern Greek, is thus pure Greek, as pure as the Greek of Polybius or Plutarch; and as to the form in which the material is couched, we have only to substitute *ζνα* with the subjunctive mood for the lost infinitive, and the subjunctive mood generally for the optative, as also the accusative case, with *εις* for *εν* with the dative, as sometimes in the New Testament, with an occasional *θα* and *ειχα* as auxiliary verbs, and we have tabulated almost the whole deviation in the spoken Greek of to-day, from that of Socrates and Alcibiades, four hundred years before the Christian era. In fact it would be as absurd to call an old tree, in vigorous leafage, a new tree, because the passing storm had broken off one or two of its branches, as to call the language of Bikelas and Tricoupi, Papparogopoulos and Paspatis, a different language from that used by the fathers of the Greek Church and the biographers of Alexander the Great.

The practical conclusion to follow from this is sufficiently obvious. The academic conceit of looking upon the language of the living Greek as a linguistic barbarism unworthy the attention of scholarly men, must cease. The barbarism lies with the bookish scholars, and not with the living men. Greek as a continuous form of literary expression with a living people through a period of three thousand years, must be taken direct from the living speech, with its inherited accent and sounds consonantal and vocalic, just as we received Latin from the Romish Church in which it never died; and we must no longer continue the absurd practice of maiming the music of the most beautiful of languages by an entirely figmentary pronunciation, a barbarous medley of slippery conjectures and manifest John Bullisms. Those who wish to see in detail the scholarly grounds on which the existing

barbarism of Academical Greek is weighed in the balance, and, like the English Latin before Munro's time, found wanting, will find ample satisfaction in the erudite and sensible pamphlet of which the title is given below; * but the fact is that no array of curious learning is necessary to secure the condemnation of a practice contrary alike to philological principle and to common sense. The objections that we sometimes hear to handling the living Greek language as all other living languages are handled, are merely shallow devices to save the objectors from the humiliation of saying that they have done wrong, and the trouble of learning to do right. To say that the modern Greek pronunciation is corrupt, is simply an insidious way of saying that in the course of two thousand years certain changes have taken place in the pronunciation of the tongue; for such changes, always in the direction of some characteristic tendency, mark the living growth of all languages, and of none more than our own English tongue. But this natural process of change, though worthy of notice as a fact in the history of a language, can be no warrant to the learner of the language for rejecting its linguistic traditions wholesale, and adopting an arbitrary one from the doubtful conjecture and the lingual habits of the teacher. Invent, if you can, a scheme of utterance so as to sing the Iliad exactly as Homer sang it, to read Plato exactly as Plato spoke it, and to confute the followers of Stoical and Epicurean sophists in the identical tones with which St. Paul denounced them at Athens, there will be no harm; just as in reading Chaucer the Englishman of the present day restores the final accent and the final syllable to words that in the course of linguistic growth have lost them: but start always with spoken English, as the English people speak it now, and with spoken Greek, as the Greek people speak it now. And as a cardinal point of reform, abolish *simpliciter*, the canine *bow-wow* sound of ou, instead of the honey-sweet sound of oo which is the sound of the diphthong both in classical Greek and in modern Scotch:

* *The Pronunciation of Greek, with Suggestions for a Reform in Teaching that Language.* By G. A. S. Dawes, M.A., London. London: Nutt, 1889.

and let the Greek *v*, which we have turned into *y*, receive its delicate shade of sound, halfway between *oo* and *i*, the German *ue*, and part of that *gracibitas* which is noted by Quintilian in a familiar passage as the most striking feature in classical Greek contrasted with the 'robustness' of the Latin. Above all, let the perversity of ignoring the accentuation of this beautiful language as it is certified to us by the witness of the Alexandrian grammarians 250 years before Christ, the Greek Church service, and the practice of the Greek people, cease for ever to confound the understanding and to waste the brains of our rising British Hellenists; for a dire waste of time and torture of brain it most certainly is to teach Greek by habituating the ears to a wrong accent, and then informing the understanding on what syllable the accent is to be placed: that is to say, how the word ought to be pronounced. *Credat Judæus!* This is really the acme of absurdity. As Cicero says of philosophers, so we may say of our Greek indoctrinators in this case, *nihil est tam absurdum quod non fecerit aliquis pædagogorum*. Let this glaring offence in the practice of our Greek teachers in this country depart for ever; and then we shall not only cease to be at unseemly war with the plainest principles of philological science and common sense, but we shall gain the double advantage of approximating socially to a people whom it is our political interest to cultivate, and putting ourselves into the position, by living intercourse with a living people on their own ground, of learning more available Greek in six months than is now often done in as many years. Let some of our benevolent friends of the poor scholar send one hopeful youth, after the termination of his school career, with £100 in his pocket, for six months to the University of Athens, and another such to the University of Oxford for the same period, and see which of the two, at the close of their half-year's drill, will look upon a chance page of Plato, or Plutarch, or Paparregopoulos, with the least amount of nervous apprehension.

J. S. BLACKIE.

ART. IV.—THE INTERPRETATION OF THE CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

The Critical Philosophy of Immanuel Kant. By EDWARD CAIRD, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, etc. 2 vols. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1889.

INTERPRETERS of Kant have ever been prone to regard his philosophy merely as a metaphysico-ethical system. While insisting upon his peculiar place in the historical development of thought, they have frequently disregarded the very conditions out of which his distinctive genius grew. The Critical Philosophy is the key to modern speculation as much because it is an autobiographical record, as on account of its internal doctrine. Kant's personal experiences in the struggle for 'more light' determined his work, both formally and materially, even more perhaps than his conscious system-making. The meeting point of several theories, his intellect passed through successive phases, and at the last, in his completed doctrine, the traces of this transformation are everywhere evident. The genesis, progress, and purpose of the man's mental attitude, no less than formulated results, must therefore be carefully reviewed if one desire to attain an adequate conception of his significance. Recognition of this fact, and the masterly skill with which the origins of the Kantian philosophy were analysed, at once gained for Mr. Caird, on the publication of his first book,* a unique position among Kantian scholars. This work, all were agreed, stood alone among English books on the subject: many considered that it had few equals even in German. In the preface to *A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant* Mr. Caird wrote: 'I hope at some future time to complete the general plan of this work in another volume on the Ethical and Æsthetical works of Kant, especially the *Critique of Practical Reason*, and the *Critique of Judgment*.' He now

* *A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant.* Glasgow, 1877.

comes before us, not with what he previously promised, but with an exposition of the whole Kantian system; the account of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, previously given, has been almost wholly rewritten. We may take it then that, if the first book was important, this one is doubly so. Fresh researches have been instituted, the subject has been considered from different points of view and in the light of the most recent criticism, and, as a result, we now possess an explanatory conspectus of an entire theory where we formerly had an exposition of a single portion of it. And in executing his task Mr. Caird has been in no wise niggardly of space; the new work contains nearly thrice as much matter as the old. We have not the least hesitation in thus early committing ourselves to the statement, that it is most remarkable for its rare combination of minute scholarship with broad reflective thinking.

The Kantian system forms the connecting link between philosophy as it was from Descartes to Locke and Hume, on the one side, and all succeeding speculation, on the other. Understanding of the work of Kant's predecessors, of his attitude towards it, and of his consequent problem, is necessary to the appreciation of Mr. Caird's book in its special bearings. For Mr. Caird has his own view of this thinker, a view which is by no means identical with that of other interpreters; he diverges considerably even from Paulsen,* whom some have supposed him to follow.

When Europe, freed from feudal and ecclesiastical shackles, awoke to freedom of thought, two departments of investigation occupied the attention of thinkers. The physical world, with its manifest wealth of interest, attracted many. Even the professed mental philosophers were at this time men of high scientific attainment. But, in addition to the unsearched regions of nature, the problem of knowledge claimed its students. Now as never before in the Christian era those who desired to solve the timeless difficulties of knowledge and morals found themselves at liberty to exercise judgment fearlessly. The individualism of the Reformation repeated itself in the rational

* *Versuch einer Entwicklungs-Geschichte der Kantischen Erkenntnisslehre.*

independence of Descartes and Spinoza. Untrammelled by traditional presuppositions, men began to discuss afresh the origin, limits, and credibility of knowledge. On the one hand, from Descartes to Leibniz, on the other, from Bacon to Hume, the history of modern philosophy is a long record of effort to reach the ultimate elements of knowledge. The theories constructed to this end divide themselves naturally into two main groups. The names of Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz represent the one, those of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume the other. All, as it so happened, gradually prepared the way for the adoption of a new standpoint, and for this last philosophy was indebted to Kant. Despite their endless doctrinal differences, pre-Kantian thinkers were agreed that human faculty, unaided by other powers, *could* arrive at true knowledge. The chief matters of philosophical investigation,—God, freedom, and immortality,—were guaranteed, not by a confession of faith vouched for by authority, but by the exercise of reason. Thought, in short, was held adequate to the presentation of truth. This assumption is common to the pre-critical systems. On examination, however, it is found that reason, as it issues in knowledge, has derived information from more than one source. Knowledge may be obtained not only through thought itself, but from experience through the medium of the senses. Thus, while all thinkers were at one in accepting the reliability of knowledge, they tended to explain its existence sometimes by reference to its thought-source, at others by pointing to sense impressions. This divergence occasioned the separation of modern pre-Kantian systems into two principal classes. These may be conveniently named the Cartesian—according to which certain *a priori* ideas supply the criterion of certainty, and the Lockian—which refer truth to the senses for legitimate confirmation. The former have been termed rationalistic, the latter, empiricist. Each group after its own special manner came to render the Kantian philosophy necessary.

Descartes took the thinking subject to be the ultimate and self-evidencing thing in the universe. From it proceeded ‘the natural light’ which illuminated his rationalism. ‘I think,

therefore I am'; than this nothing can be more certain, and accordingly, on this basis a system may, nay, must, be raised. The 'thinking thing' is the presupposition of the Cartesian universe. Nor is this all. On closer inspection this self is discovered to be in possession of a complete natural equipment. It brings with it a stock of innate ideas which are as securely guaranteed as is its own existence. Thus man, the thinking substance, is not only satisfied of the absolute reality of his own selfhood, he is equally assured of the trustworthiness of innate ideas. Among these the conception of God is the most important. He, as the absolute substance, is the sole conceivable cause of the idea of Himself; therefore He exists. And, from His very nature, He cannot but warrant the correctness of the knowledge which man has of an extended substance external to himself. This, then, is what Descartes evolves from his assumption of the ego's irrefragableness. Given the self, there immediately emerges the idea of the absolute substance on which it depends. This again is the ground of the extended substance, which the thinker recognises in the outer world. These three elements form the framework of knowledge and reality. Three substances, set side by side, constitute the entire world. Do they furnish a sufficient, or self-consistent explanation of it? If 'they exclude each other,' as Descartes alleges, can they so co-operate as to produce the intelligible totality of thought and things. Surely not. The fact is that Descartes proceeded by a leap from the vantage ground of self to Deity, and thence to extended substance. There is neither natural nor logical connection between the ideas. Further, the absolute substance is of such a kind that it eviscerates the two others of any self-sustained reality. The ego and the world are brought into mutual connection by the power of God. The universe is truly existent only because God works in it as efficient cause. 'Nature is the world-order established by God, and my nature is the assemblage of the powers that God has given me.' Reasoning from such premisses, Descartes could not fail to fall into dogmatism. He avoided the logical conclusions of his assumptions—as for example in explaining the relation between body and mind—by

holding more than one opinion. Occasionalism, with its circumstantial Divine interference, explains the otherwise inexplicable union of the thinking with the extended substance in man; and Spinozism brings to light the true relation between absolute substance and its created fellows. Mind and matter, as Spinoza argued, are, on Descartes' principles, nothing but emanations from Deity. God has existed from eternity, and the mutually exclusive modes of thought and extension have always proceeded from Him. If then, things in the finite world have truth or meaning, this reality is due, not to themselves, but to the infinite substance on which they depend. Leibniz, the last of the Rationalists, was so far faithful to the early principles of Cartesianism that he refused to accept Spinoza's interpretation. 'I think, therefore I am.' I myself am the exclusive ground of my own being; my certainty of this is self-demonstrative. But, if God be the only reality, this cannot be the case. Leibniz, arguing in some such way, attempted to hold by Descartes' first principle. To this end he formulated his doctrine of monads. In essential respects monadism is the antithesis of Spinoza's universalism. Leibniz affirms that every individual thing in the world is a self-sustained substance; there is not one substance, but an endless number. According to their nature they belong to lower or higher classes. Although mutually exclusive of one another, it has been so contrived by Deity that they shall work out together the harmonious world of experience with which all sane people are alike acquainted. The three rationalistic systems thus dogmatically affirm one or other among the more impressive aspects of the universe. Descartes insists upon the originality of the self—that is, upon its difference from every other. Spinoza sees naught but the essential oneness of things, as members of a vast unity which endows them with the meaning that they have. Leibniz in a manner combines both these conceptions, but he adds another of his own. He is impressed with the differences among things. So, while approaching Descartes in his doctrine of the self-evidencing of substances, and Spinoza in his theory of the relation between substances, his conception of entelechies remains peculiar. All the ration-

alistic systems are, therefore, partial, and in addition, each is marred by a special dogma concerning self, or absolute substance, or mechanical harmony. Consequently they are alike inadequate to the problem which they profess to solve. The appeal to the subjective factor in the constitution of knowledge has been unsuccessful.

The psychological predecessors of Kant require less attention. Their work had not so much direct influence upon his speculation, the importance of Hume notwithstanding. The English successors of Descartes, like Descartes himself, made a certain gratuitous assumption. They held that the senses were the sole channel of true knowledge. Experience, viewed as the contact with reality by means of the bodily organism, they considered the efficient cause of ideas. Although, in the absence of other basis, irresistible intuition guarantees such notions as God and self, all other information is traceable to the senses. Impressions produce simple ideas, and more complex conceptions, which involve knowledge of the 'relations of things,' are due to a supposititious causal reference. We are acquainted with the qualities of substance, for example, but of substance itself we are ignorant, and so we suppose it to be the substratum necessary to the inherence of qualities. The unknowable, in short, was for Locke the groundwork of all the most certain contents of knowledge. Berkeley, perceiving the absurdity of the position, attempted to express this unintelligible substance in terms of the intelligible. He too assumed, in the first instance, that the senses convey true knowledge. But he set this knowledge in an entirely new relation to the thinker. So far from the mind being a *tabula rasa* on which sensation writes, it is rather a conscious activity whose perceptions bring sensation into the sphere of reality:—*Esse is percipi*. It is a power, moreover, which gains in constitutive faculty as time goes on. In the course of experience it stores up certain occurrences, as it were, and reproduces them, by a kind of redintegration, in the guise of suggestions. Thus at last, on the occasion of specified sense perceptions, the thinker spontaneously invests them with numerous relations, and so the bare impression is clothed in an ideal completeness, of which

it is the suggestion but not the cause. Even this explanation, fascinating as it is in comparison with Locke's, does not take us beyond the empirical standpoint. It is good, maybe, for each individual apart, yet it carries no conviction with it. The assumption still is that knowledge truly exists, and by consequence, little notice is taken of problems respecting the manner of its existence. Nay, Berkeley's theory is gifted with the semblance of adequacy only by the introduction of unwarranted elements. Consequently Hume, culling premisses from Descartes, Locke, and Berkeley indifferently, took it upon himself to show that knowledge, if dependent on sensational experience, is impossible. Everything is an appearance, the effect of illusion rendered permanent by custom. If man knows nothing but sense impressions, and the ideas which follow upon them, then self-consciousness is a delusion resting on two others, and causality is the name which the thinker gives to his own mental impotence. Hume's conclusion thus is, that on the basis of empiricism, systematic knowledge cannot be accounted for save by the supposition that it is the negation of knowledge. Thought is explained only when the utter absurdity of it is fully realised. Consequently, as in the case of reason, the appeal to sense fails lamentably. Prior to Kant philosophers had assumed the truth of knowledge, and had tried to exhibit its ground and content. Kant, led by the circumstances of historical development, set himself the entirely new question, how is knowledge possible at all.

Kant's first business then was to thrust aside the assumptions of his predecessors, and with them the various consequences of which they had been productive. He did not assume knowledge, but he said, we have knowledge, how does it come into being. In particular he pointed out that mind is not merely a passive receptacle of ideas, but that it has a certain constitutive power of its own; we declare, not only that two and two make four, but that this will always be so. Mind adds the element of universality and necessity. How does it do this; in other words, how are synthetic judgments *a priori* possible? They exist, but in obedience to what conditions? In the *Critique of Pure Reason* he shows successively, first, that these

mind-constituted judgments are abstract general statements, and are therefore subjectively *a priori*; second, that the *a posteriori* objects, to which these forms apply, are also mind-originated. 'The understanding makes nature, but out of a material which it does not make.' And thirdly, that, because form is dependent upon matter for its realisation, the *a priori* categories can only be applied within the limits of *a posteriori* sense experience. Man, viewed purely as an intellectual being, knows phenomena, not realities. But Kant did not rest content with this. He went on to point out, in the *Critique of Practical Reason*, that man, as a moral being, can get beyond phenomena to noumenal verities. The central ideas of God, freedom, and immortality, which pure reason is condemned to pursue resultlessly, are thus vindicated in the sphere of the ethical consciousness. Without them rational moral law could not be fulfilled: and this law is unconditionally laid upon man. His burden of duty is not greater than he can bear, and so the conditions of well-doing must be preserved.

Criticising, as he did, now Hume and the empiricists, now Leibniz and the Wolffians, Kant could not fail to be obscure, if not self-contradictory. The interpretations put upon the first edition of his *Critique* caused him to introduce what many hold to be essential alterations in the second edition. Moreover, the sharp division between the intellect and the will, with the limitation of the former and the final vindication of the latter, has rendered possible a fragmentary interpretation of his system, based on a partial acceptance of its results. Ample reasons have unquestionably existed for the recent remarkable up-growth of Kant literature, with its numerous controversies and variant readings of the thinker's meaning. Mr. Caird is well known to hold a distinct view respecting these matters, and in his new book he presents us with a consistent interpretation of the entire Kantian system. What Mr. Caird's standpoint is, and to what conclusions it leads him, we must now endeavour to find out.

It may most reasonably be inquired at the outset, what necessity is there for treating Kant's work according to a peculiar method? In stating his doctrine, why not abide by

his own words and explain his ideas, as is customary in relation to other men, by reference to his own expression of them? In answering this question one best realises the special difficulties presented by Kant, and obtains insight into the causes which have led to such various and mutually contradictory interpretations of his system. Like every other thinker, he was so far bowed down by the weight of the past. The remnants of scholasticism traceable in the post-Leibnizian rationalism of Germany—in which he was trained—find place in the completed critical system. They supplied a ready made framework within which Kant attempted to build up his own new thought. The form of his theory, to be brief, was in essentials unsuited to its matter. Hence, throughout, that series of imperfections, of misleading divisions, and of dubious formulæ which has done so much to obscure the thinker's ultimate meaning. To take but a few examples at random. The absolute distinction instituted between various faculties of the mind, as between *Verstand* and *Vernunft*, does not only affect readers of Kant today, it affected the philosopher himself. He gradually came to regard these faculties, which, in their abstraction from the self, have no real existence, as actual entities. Characteristic activities of thought, instead of being straightway referred to one ego, were viewed as proceeding from individual faculties endowed with a selfhood of their own. Understanding, Imagination, Judgment, Reason, though but elements in a single mind, were treated as if each possessed a fully furnished individuality peculiar to itself. Nay more, each was in a manner banished to a region into which none of its fellows had right of entrance. On this account, if on no other, many are unable to admit that the different parts of the *Critique* stand in organic relation to one another. A similar difficulty is caused by the separation between understanding and sense. Antagonistic in nature, these two factors of knowledge are brought into mutual connection only within a sphere which is void of reality. The shade of reality is a ghostly attendant upon man's mental being; the thinker need but try to grasp the truly existent to discover that he is deluding himself. In the same way, the transition from the intellectual to the moral sphere is so abrupt as to

amount, in the eyes of many, to no transition. It is the result of an after-thought, they say, and as such, it does not possess any vital relation to the explanation of experience already tendered in the *Critique of Pure Reason*. So too, when well within the moral sphere, reason and the passions seem to fall asunder. The bare form of the moral law has thus no natural field in which it can find content. Finally, the idea of design, enunciated in the *Critique of Judgment*, looks like a clumsy attempt to bridge over the chasm between the two earlier *Critiques*. Little wonder then that, confronted with so many apparent anomalies, interpreters of Kant have found themselves compelled to re-arrange materials according to their own methods. The Kantian philosophy, in short, as set forth by its author, required reformation. It has been the effort of Kant scholars, especially in recent years, to bring about this reform in a variety of ways; each thinker usually having some views specially his own. Some, for instance, choose to lay exclusive stress upon the sceptical results of the *Critique of Pure Reason*; others fall back upon 'primary data of consciousness' analogous to Kant's *a priori* elements of experience, but not, as with him, mere forms; others again, of whom Mr. Caird is a type, transform the critical philosophy by setting aside the letter and educating what they allege to be its inner spirit.

Regarding the matter in this light, and, for the sake of brevity, restricting observation to wide divergences, it may be said that to-day two main competing interpretations of Kant are before us. There is the Neo-Kantian interpretation strictly so called, and there is that advanced by Mr. Caird which is not Neo-Kantian but Neo-Hegelian. That is to say, Mr. Caird's reading is not a variant of Kant himself, but is a transliteration of Kant as seen in the light of Hegelianism. The standpoint of our author may be made clearer if we contrast it for a moment with that of the Neo-Kantians proper. According to Lange,* and those who represent him in this country, Kant's great and revolutionary contribution to speculation is given solely in the *Critique*

* See his *History of Materialism*, especially vol. III. of the English translation.

of *Pure Reason*. Nay more, the negative and destructive results reached in the last portion of the first *Critique* constitute its distinctive merit. Modern science, its path barred by those impenetrables, eternal matter and eternal force, concludes that knowledge must be of the phenomenal only. This is also Kant's deliverance in the *Dialectic*. The central verities of spirit—the Soul, the Universe, and God—are beyond the ken of human intellect. Knowledge is obtained by one process, and by that alone. The mind, it is alleged, applies its forms, the categories, to shapeless materials *given* by sensation. The products of sensation are knowable only when thus moulded, and the categories have no office save in the work of moulding. But the ideas of self, of the world as a whole, and of God, are noumena or ideas of reason. Not being matter of sense, the categories cannot be applied to them. So too, as respects the external world, things *quâ* actual realities, are not matter of sense. Consequently, what is known of the so called material world is wholly phenomenal. Reality, as it were, extends inward, and it extends outward; but knowledge is confined to that middle kingdom where neither inner nor outer reality has any place. In order to appraise Kant's value, then, declare the Neo-Kantians, it is necessary to cancel the subsidiary treatises, and to treat the *Critique of Pure Reason*, particularly in its final conclusions, as if it were the entire critical scheme. This done, man, as science and philosophy are agreed, knows nothing save appearances. Ideas, apart from realities, form the sum-total of experience. Metaphysics, religion, and the rest, which deal in spiritual realities, are illusory. The idea of God, and so forth, are conceptions naturally incident to the human mind. Religion and metaphysics are to be encouraged as harmless amusements—toys to turn humanity away from the stern spectacle of its own finitude. They are good if so be it is recognised that they are void of truth. Experience is fully explained only when it is roundly condemned.

This view is adduced, not so much for its own sake, as to illustrate, by contrast with Mr. Caird's, the extreme difficulty of the task which the interpreter of Kant has to perform. The opposition also serves to prove that the result of the investiga-

tion must depend largely upon the spirit in which the writer approaches the subject. Indeed, as respects Kant, method is everything.

Mr. Caird's method of treating the critical philosophy involves, in the first place, one main postulate. It is this. All Kant's work, and not an isolated part of it only, must be taken into account. In particular, due regard must be had to the three *Critiques* and to the *Treatise on Religion within the Bounds of mere Reason*. We hold this contention of Mr. Caird's to be not only indispensable, but also fully warranted out of Kant's own mouth. True, Kant may have separated between the theoretical and the practical spheres, and he may have so far designed the *Critique of Judgment* to overcome this separation. At the same time, he contemplated some such complete discussion as the three *Critiques* cover from a comparatively early period of his intellectual development. The evidence adduced on this point by Mr. Caird is conclusive.* 'From the *Critique* itself we learn that, in writing it, he was contemplating and preparing the way for his other, and especially his ethical works; and a letter to Herz, dated 7th June, 1771, shows that in his original plan all the investigations which were afterwards spread over the three *Critiques*, were intended to be gathered in one work, under the title of *The Limits of Sense and Reason*. That work he proposed to divide into 'two parts, one theoretical and the other practical.' The first part was to contain two sections, one corresponding to the *Critique of Pure Reason*, and treating of Phenomenology in general; the other treating of Metaphysic, though only as regards its nature and method. The second part was also to contain two sections, one treating of the principles of feeling, of taste and sensuous desire, and the other of the primary rational basis of morality. Now the independent treatment of the different parts of this general plan which Kant subsequently adopted, had the effect of giving an appearance of finality to the results which were arrived at in each of them, though they were really parts of one whole, and were originally

* Vol. I., p. 228, *sq.*

conceived as such.' Thus in Mr. Caird's opinion, Kant's chief works cannot but be regarded as integral parts of a complete whole. Moreover the controversy concerning the discrepancy between the first and second editions of the *Critique of Pure Reason* is, in this way, brought within measurable distance of settlement. The second edition is not to be viewed as essentially contradictory of the first. Like the other *Critiques*, it is rather to be regarded as supplementary or amplifying. 'The alteration of Kant's views which is supposed to be found in the second edition, is, partly at least, the result of an effort on his part to remove the misconceptions of certain of his readers who had regarded his arguments with reference to their immediate results, and without reference to the further results which he sought to reach through them. These misconceptions Kant sought to meet by bringing in anticipative statements of his ultimate purpose,—statements which sometimes, it must be confessed, have the effect of introducing a new source of confusion into the immediate argument.'* In this connection we may conveniently say that, just as Mr. Caird's contention, that Kant is to be judged by all his works, must be held proved, so too his explanation of the connection between the two editions of the *Critique of Pure Reason* is to be accepted as satisfactory. The one is but an extension of the other. In this manner the apparent contradictions are eliminated, and unity is bestowed upon altered statements of the same truths. It is matter for congratulation that an exposition at once so clear, so thorough, and so convincing, should be accessible.†

But, secondly, Mr. Caird's method of treating Kant involves not only the obviously reasonable assumption which, as above, is held proved, it also depends upon the adoption of a certain philosophical standpoint. And precisely here matters controversial may be said to emerge. To take the method itself. Nothing is more characteristic of Mr. Caird's book than the open manner in which he intimates his intention. From the

* Vol. I., p. 229.

† See Vol. I., p. 588, *sq.*, especially p. 604, *sq.*

preface to the last chapter, the nature and necessity of his attitude are abundantly discussed and as abundantly illustrated. 'No one,' writes Mr. Caird in his preface,* 'who recognises that progress in speculative philosophy is a progress to self-consciousness, and that such progress always involves a conflict between the conscious and the unconscious, even in the minds of those who are its most prominent representatives, will fail to see that the only valuable criticism is that which turns what is latent in the thought of a great writer against what is explicit, and thereby makes his works a stepping-stone to results which he did not himself attain. It was those who stoned the prophets that built their sepulchres. Those who really revered them, showed it by following the spirit derived from them to new issues.' Kant, then, is to be interpreted, not as he exactly is, but as his influence came to be developed in succeeding systems. To indicate what the theory ultimately implied—as, for example, the German idealists did in the course of the history of philosophy—is the business of the critic; he is not to occupy himself overmuch with the letter of the system nor with its actual achievements. No better specimen of the practical working of this method could be adduced than that given in the entire chapter on the Transcendental Deduction. Whether agreeing with its results or not, no one will deny that this is a performance of the most masterly description; it is a characteristic specimen of metaphysical skill. At once subtle and incisive, it illustrates the remarkable power possessed by its author of seeing the end in the beginning of a long argument, and maintaining it constantly in view throughout. In this exposition we see Mr. Caird's method in full working order. The following is a typical example of the manner of its operation;—Kant 'points out that the categories are forms of the *a priori* synthesis by which objects are determined as such, and, as we shall see, he carries them back to "pure apperception" as the unity out of which they spring. But instead of showing directly how they spring from that unity, he has taken the roundabout

* pp. x., xi.

method of basing his list of the pure conceptions that rule the synthetic judgment upon the aspects or modes of analytic judgment, and he has simply adopted the list of these modes from formal Logic. But, if he had realised his own ideal, he would have been obliged, first of all, to show how it follows from the idea of the analytic judgment that the list contains just these and no other forms. And, even after he had used the 'logical system' so derived as a clue for the discovery of the categories, he would not have considered himself free from the obligation of showing from the nature of the synthetic judgment itself that they form a complete system of *a priori* conceptions.' And again, 'Kant silently substitutes for the idea of a pure unity that is neither perception nor conception, the idea of an intuitive understanding which is both. And it is only as he does so that he can get from it that ideal of knowledge which he opposes to experience. For it is impossible by mere abstraction to reach a point of view from which we can see the limitation of that from which we abstract. Such a point of view we can only find in a unity in relation to which the opposition of conception and perception sinks into an opposition of elements which imply each other. Only as we are able to rise above the relative or imperfect unity of perception and conception in experience to a principle which is capable of turning it into an absolute unity can it be possible for us to see its relativity and imperfection. Or if, in relation to the unity of self-consciousness, we can see the phenomenal character of the objects of experience, self-consciousness must be itself a principle which will ultimately enable us to turn knowledge of the phenomenon into knowledge of the noumenon.' This plan of procedure, according to which it is stated, not what Kant was, but what he implied or might legitimately be made to imply, is resorted to again and again. Separations are bridged over, divisions are healed, doubtful points are forced to assume clearness, with the result that an unaccustomed air of unity comes over the loosely connected portions of the system. In short, the *tendency* is coaxed, as it were, out of the unpromising materials, and is treated as their valuable, if not their visible, import. Or, to put the matter in

another way, Mr. Caird furnishes not merely a presentation of the Critical Philosophy, he further introduces the reform of which, as it stands in the original, Kant's work is so sadly in need. Thus, as many will allege, Mr. Caird's book contains neither Kant's thought *simpliciter*, nor its author's thought *simpliciter*, but rather sets forth a transformed Kantism.

Having tried to obtain some conception of the method employed, it is necessary, in the next place, to give attention to the reform which Mr. Caird works in the Critical System. What is it, or rather wherein lies its distinctive character? The change is most noticeable in the metaphysical portion of his book, and affects, in particular, Kant's presentation of the Transcendental Deduction and of the Principles of the Pure Understanding, more especially those known as the Postulates of Empirical Thought. The reason for this lies chiefly in the fact that Kant had not, any more than other thinkers, formulated a satisfactory reply to the question, What is Being. Mr. Caird's effort is to educe a competent answer, and this he does working mainly with Kantian materials viewed in the light of Kant's own mental development, and of his influence upon later speculation. We presume that no one will desire to controvert the initial assumption implicitly made by Mr. Caird. All are agreed, we take it, that knowledge, of whatever sort, is subject to the limitations and other conditions imposed by the nature of the thinking subject. Thought is indeed not the thinker, but the thinker is aware that his thought, and therefore his knowledge, is subject to certain sufficiently obvious restrictions. So far, while remaining, so to speak, within the unity of the subject, there is little or no difficulty. But when it is asked, what is Being, how is Reality constituted, grave problems at once arise. Mr. Caird's reading is intended, if not to supply a complete solution of these problems, at least to obviate their recurrence; he makes the Kantian theory face both ways, to object and subject alike. The presuppositions of this ontology, and its results, are implied in his treatment of Kant's ethical and religious works, so that, as a consequence, the Critical system is re-systematised according to a new plan, and for the express purpose of adequately explaining the office of mind in

the universe, a task which Kant himself had only indicated in some of its general aspects, and had re-directed by his central doctrine of the mind-conditionedness of objects. Mr. Caird, going beyond this, makes it his effort to show precisely *how* matter derived from sense and forms inherent in mind unite to constitute reality; *how* passion due to physical need and the formal law of the inner nature combine to produce moral action; *how* subjective principles of judgment, such as are involved in matters of taste, imply an objective world which partakes of the character of these very principles, thereby proving that the former are not truly subjective nor the latter truly objective.

Stated very generally, Kant's metaphysical doctrine in effect is, that mind by its own power unifies the experience which we possess. This it does by the imposition of forms native to itself upon matter presented through sense from without. As we have already seen, no one would deny the first position—the fact of the indispensableness of mind. The second is so far open to dispute, that few can accept Kant's account of the *manner* in which mind performs its function. Mr. Caird, like others, departs from Kant here, and in this departure he introduces his reform. His version of the process he holds to be, not certainly the explicit conclusion of the Kantian philosophy, but its inner tendency. Kant, to a great extent hindered by the methods and presuppositions of his predecessors, had separated from the first between mind and matter. That he did this without full perception of results is proved by the fact that he is continually inventing machinery to overcome the separation which he had formerly set up. It was an egregious mistake of his to suppose that an external source, like sense, furnished mind with content *independent* of mental activity. And in order to comprehend him aright, it is imperatively necessary to observe the gradual movement of his thought to rid itself of these sense-data. Careful study of Kant himself, and due consideration of his influence on after speculation, show that, so far from understanding and the manifold of sense being separated, they are really the same thing viewed from opposite sides. Doubtless Kant himself never saw fully all

that is implied in the interdependence of subjective and objective. He never observed, for example, that the conviction of personal identity is not merely an analytic judgment concerning the persistence of the abstract ego, but is also, just because of *the identity*, a synthesis of conscious states. Accordingly, it is only doing justice to Kant when stress is laid upon corollaries to his doctrine, even if he himself was not conscious of such consequences. It is not sufficient, therefore, to say that the spontaneity of mind exhausts itself in the application of forms to the data *somehow* given by sense. This 'somehow' has been implicitly eliminated by Kant himself; nay, he has himself proved by implication that there is no absolute division between sense and understanding. 'What Kant really proves is that the categories, so far as they are 'species of apperception,' or expressions of the different *momenta* in the pure consciousness of self, must necessarily be at the same time the guiding principles in all the different stages of our consciousness of a world, the knowledge of which can be completed only when it is brought into the form of self-consciousness, *i. e.*, when the external or material world is recognised as in reality a spiritual world, as the phenomenon of which the spiritual world is the noumenon.'* Experience, therefore, does not consist of a junction of elements contributed from various quarters. It is essentially due to mind which transforms everything to its own uses. Further, the materials which may be *said* to be transformed, are only known as transformed. Subject, that is, cannot be taken from object nor object from subject. Our knowledge, if it contain sense-elements, contains them because they are already categorised; our knowledge, if it possess categories, has them because they have already received exemplification in relation to 'matter of sense.' Sense and understanding are invariably linked together, the one apart from the other is a pure abstraction. By the very fact that sense can be called sense, it is not sense, and so too with the understanding. To attempt to separate them is much as if one were to try to jump out of his

* Vol. I., p. 429.

own skin in order to get a better view of it. And, as there cannot ultimately be any division between presumed matter of sense and presumed forms of the mind, so the opposition, contemplated by Kant, between consciousness of self and the consciousness of objects is without ground. It is an obvious invention. Just as the transcendental ego, which cannot be thought, is a thought of the ego, just as the thing-in-itself, which cannot be known by the ego, is part of the ego's knowledge, so the supposed opposition between self-consciousness and the consciousness of things is possible in thought only because an identity already subsists. Kant's main difficulties are occasioned by this invention of his, the pre-conditions of which he never realised. One half of experience is set by the ears with the other. But, unless both were in the same world to begin with, they could not thus be rendered antagonistic to each other. Consciousness of self posits consciousness of objects to its own completion and *vice versa*. Man gradually comes to be acquainted with himself just because he is in a world of objects. So too he gradually becomes cognisant of a world of objects, because he refers them to himself as *his* objects. The one consciousness is an accompaniment of the other, and, only as this is recognised, can they be regarded as possible antagonists. This truth always remains an *ideal* with Kant, nevertheless, it is true that he had an intuition of it. Metaphysically, man cannot bring the world in to himself; by an act of rational faith, he may, in the ethical sphere, rid himself of the resultant opposition. Mr. Caird, it is well to note, enforces this interpretation by hinting that, otherwise, the Neo-Kantian conclusion is the only one possible. 'The ultimate decision, therefore, as to the truth of the Kantian Criticism of Pure Reason, must turn upon the opposition of perception and conception, as factors which reciprocally imply, and yet exclude, each other. If thought in constituting knowledge or experience has to deal with something foreign to itself, something of an essentially different character from pure thought, there seems no escape from the Kantian paradox. . . . When there is something incommensurable in two quantitative terms, that have to be brought

into relation with each other, the only possible result is an infinite series; and, for similar reasons, the combination of thought and perception in experience can never give a final answer in terms of thought."*

As in the theoretical, so in the practical, consciousness, Kant sets out from 'dualistic' premisses. Just as he draws a broad distinction between forms in the mind and matter received through the senses, so he separates between the spiritual form of the moral law—the Moral Imperative—and the passions or materials to which this law is to be applied. Consequently, as there is, in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, an opposition between self-consciousness and consciousness of objects, so, in the *Critique of Practical Reason*, there is a conflict between reason and passion, between the freedom of the self in its possible realisation of ideal ends and the natural obstacles to such progress. Accordingly, when he has shown how the second *Critique* is related to the first, Mr. Caird goes on to apply further the method with which he has already familiarised us. The metaphysical theory had its apparent weakness and its inner strength, so too the moral. Kant sets the consciousness self as a free moral agent in opposition to the consciousness of limitations due to man's environment in nature. The result is that his moral theory has a subjective character. The free agent, finding himself externally circumscribed, falls back upon self where he is in a region into which no troublesome elements can enter. This subjective view affects Kant's conception of morality, and modifies his theory of it, very largely. Thus, his idea of moral conduct is abstract; it may be capable of general application, it has no definite content. Morality is theoretically presented, but its positive place in common life does not appear. The supposed conflict between reason and passion leads to a negative, ascetic, or Stoic, scheme of moral obligation. Freedom, because of this subjectivity, is explained as the ability ideally to present high ends to ourselves; it is not accompanied by an assurance that we can actually realise them. Law is conceived too much in the way of compulsion. And, as a

* Vol. II., pp. 140-41.

whole, the individualistic view of the moral consciousness is pushed to the obscuring of the social. But, notwithstanding all this, which appears on the surface of the *Critique of Practical Reason*, Kant is better than his words. He is always trying to rid himself of his early conception of the opposition between moral freedom and natural compulsion. 'The strong point of the *Critique of Practical Reason* is its view of the ego as expressing itself in the determination of the self as object, and through it of the objective world generally; its weakness is its conception of this determination as negative rather than positive, and hence as incapable of realising the goal which it sets before itself. To see the defects of Kant's theory we have, therefore, as in the case of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, to follow him to the point where he stops, and to show how inevitable it is that those who adopt his principles, should advance beyond his results.'* As in the intellectual life the separation between consciousness of self and consciousness of objects is possible only because of the implied unity of the two kinds of consciousness, so, in the moral life, the opposition between ideal and opportunity is recognisable only because the two are but different sides of the same personality. Desire and passion are desire and passion for me only as they are *my* desire and *my* passion. That is, they have ceased to be external objects limiting me; having been taken up into my individuality they are no more outer obstacles to progress, they are integral elements in an advance which is neither external wholly nor internal wholly, but which is both equally.

The implication of Kant's theory is, that the dualism on which he apparently insists must, in the nature of the case, be overcome. And, when this is recognised, the difficulties, contradictions, and arbitrary divisions, which mar his ethics, begin to pass away. The moral life is to be viewed, not so much as a determination of the good will—a purely subjective principle—but as a gradual growth and revelation of the good character—a principle which is neither subjective nor objective, but which is from subjectivity, through objectivity, back to

* Vol. II., p. 198.

subjectivity. The moral law, no longer divorced from actual life, is brought down from the abstract sphere and becomes an indwelling, self-manifesting *δύναμις*, which naturally energises in virtuous acts. The conflict between reason and passion being thus ended, the need for an ascetic or legal morality is removed. The passions, not being opposed to the will, do not require to be suppressed. They are transformed by a natural process into ministers of righteousness. Now 'neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love.' Freedom, so far from being an inner power to contemplate ideals—which cannot be realised 'because of the matter,'—is but another aspect of necessity. Necessities are transformed into opportunities for self-advancement. Kant represents the forces by which the self is determined as things external to it. But the inner tendency of his thought is to surmount this external determination. For, his great central doctrine of the spontaneity of mind implies 'that all the moments by which the consciousness of self is determined, are really its *own* moments.'* Consequently 'from the point of view which we have now reached, we are able to see that the self-contradiction of the consciousness of freedom in those earlier stages of its development, is the very means by which it is developed to a form in which the contradiction disappears.'† So too, by a legitimate extension of Kant's own principles, his conception of law may be transformed, nay, he unconsciously works out this transformation for himself in large measure. Speaking of his applied ethics, Mr. Caird says, 'in no part of Kant's work can we more manifestly see at once the defects of his professed theory, that is, of the theory with which he starts, and the anticipative insight by which he already suggests a theory better than his own.'‡ Finally, when he comes to the question, 'are men isolated in their moral life'; his 'answer is ambiguous,' yet with an ambiguity which tends to pass away.§ For the return upon self which, in Kantian theory, the contradictions found in the world cause,

* Vol. II., p. 274.

‡ Vol. II., p. 315.

† Vol. II., p. 275.

§ Cf. Vol. II., p. 397, *sq.*

is not an individualistic return, but is a recoil of self from surroundings in which it has already become partaker. The individual can no more be separated from society than desire can be divorced from reason, category from sense, perception from conception. The advance which we witness in the moral life is essentially from personality, through persons, back to transformed personality. Man, simply because he is man, finds not only that it is bad, but that it is impossible, for him to be alone.

The *Critique of Judgment*, again, although not so distinctly included in the primal conception of his task as were the first two *Critiques*, comes to occupy a most important place in the development of his thought. 'In it he seeks to reunite what it was the main tendency of his previous works to divide; or rather, perhaps we should say that in it the tendency to unite which worked in the background of the previous writings, now comes to the front.'* The *Critique of Practical Reason*, with its absolute separation between reason and passion, between the moral and the sensuous, seems to receive correction in Kant's theory of the beautiful. And the same may be said of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, with its chasm between the forms of the mind and the matter of sense. Moreover, the conception of beauty, in Kant's view, brings with it the idea of purpose, but of purpose which is restricted to the subjective sphere. Any unity which mind can attach to its conception of the universe is a result of the power which man possesses of joining ultimately discordant elements. 'Taking his stand on these presuppositions, Kant is unable to regard the Idea of organic unity,—the Idea of a unity of the universal and particular, or of a unity of thought and reality,—as anything but an abstract and empty ideal, a mere 'thought of which we have no conception,' a consciousness of something which we think only by abstracting from the conditions of our own understanding; though it is also a something which we are *obliged* to think in so far as we recognise these conditions as limits.'† But here, as in the previous

* Vol. II., p. 452.

† Vol. II., p. 529.

Critiques, Kant is better than his bare word. Self-consciousness, which actually has this conception of organic unity, is itself organic. And the great difficulty which it experiences in theorising the universe to itself is to explain, not the organic, but the inorganic. On further consideration, it soon appears that self-consciousness cannot be related to the inorganic without in a manner transforming it. Kant implicitly acknowledges 'that the idea of a unity which determines and differentiates *itself*, and does not merely stamp the unity of its thought on a foreign matter, is given us in self-consciousness in its pure relation to itself.* All the *means* whereby we determine objects as these or those objects—as different parts—are themselves integral portions of the unity of self-consciousness. The differences are knowable only on the presupposition of unity; and through the differences the unity is perceptible. The two are inseparable from one another. Viewed thus, the subjective value assigned to artistic taste receives new, and objective, content. 'Perfect art again becomes nature.'† Here, then, an elevation is reached which almost touches the high plane of religion. Generous impulse, although causing contradictions, is found to be not without value. The tendency to appreciate this truth led Kant at last to his *Treatise on Religion within the Bounds of mere Reason*, which is to be regarded as an attempt 'to connect his moral principles more closely with the Religion of Love.'‡ Here again, as in former works, there is a difference between letter and spirit. Literally God is used as a mechanism for the 'combination of happiness and goodness.' Implicitly Kant goes beyond this conception by introducing new doctrines which raise the question 'whether in the alteration of concession and recoil, admissions and reservations, in which he has involved himself, Kant has not strained his principles to the breaking point.'§ Strictly, owing to his subjective view of the moral life, he is unable to see that the ideal to which man progresses is in God, and is, therefore, no longer subjective but social. Nevertheless, his

* Vol. II., p. 534.

† Cf. Vol. II., p. 561.

‡ Vol. II., p. 562.

§ Vol. II., pp. 591-2.

whole drift is to break down this rigid wall of subjectivity, and to let self-consciousness flow over into the 'external' world. That is to say, in religion the individual has an ideal which is not only *his*, but is possibly his, because it is God's, and therefore, everybody's. Self-sacrifice is thus installed as the sole motive-force of religion.

According to Mr. Caird, then, there is the literal Kant throughout whose work one error, differing in matter but ever the same in form, continually runs. On the other hand, there is the implicit Kant who teaches us to correct this mistake. 'Now, I have attempted to show that in all this there is only one logical error, to wit, the confusion of the regressive process of thought, by which the unity of self is found to underlie the categories and the forms of sense, with a process of mere abstraction. . . . Hence, also, the moral law itself shrinks into the conception of law in general, and this into the tautology of self-consistency, *i.e.*, of consistency with that which has in itself no determination. And if a partial escape is found from this emptiness of abstraction by 'typifying' the moral law as a law of nature; yet the conception of the law of freedom as if it were a law of necessity seems to be too hopelessly contradictory to bring with it any real solution of the difficulty. To correct this fundamental error of Kant is to recognize that the reflexion, which discovers the categories and the forms of sense beneath ordinary experience, and the unity of the self beneath the categories and the forms of sense, is no mere process of abstraction, but a process of what is rather to be called *concretion*, *i.e.*, that it is not a process in which we empty experience of certain elements of which it does not usually take account; though without these elements experience could not apprehend anything, and for want of the consciousness of them it does not comprehend anything as it really is. . . . But while his defective consciousness of his own logic undoubtedly tends to empty the results he reaches of some of their meaning, he could have attained no results at all if his real method had not been other than his professed method.'*

Naturally in a survey so complete some portions attract, and by their manner deserve, more attention than others. Special mention ought to be made of the minute completeness of the consideration accorded to Kant's pre-Critical development; of the masterly review of the Critical problem; and of the acute treatment of the Categories of Relation. Particular notice must also be taken of the subtle statement of the connection between the Dialectic and the earlier portions of the *Critique of Pure Reason*; and of the exposition of the Dialectic as a whole—especially of the forcible rehabilitation of the ontological argument. The outline and criticism of the *Critique of Judgment* are also very welcome, not only in themselves, but on account of the problems presently agitating the scientific world; and the same may be said of the analysis and transformation of the *Treatise on Religion*. These latter portions cannot fail to be of the deepest interest to those whom the problems of speculative biology or theology attract. Whether agreeing with the conclusions reached or not, of their eminent suggestiveness there can be but one opinion.

Again and again throughout his commentary Mr. Caird points out that Kant may be interpreted in various ways. Different views have been taken of his problem,* and these have determined the character of the construction and the amount of the value put upon his system. If, then, it be 'obvious that at each step in Kant's work, there is the possibility of a two-fold interpretation of it,† Mr. Caird must not be surprised to find cursing proceed from the source in which he has discovered so much blessing. Criticism of his book may, and will, be fortified by reference to the very texts from which he has drawn his inspiration. Nor, if regarded carefully, will this be matter for surprise. His method of procedure, which we have endeavoured to delineate, has its disadvantages. It works wonders, but its manner of so doing is certainly open to misconstruction. It may therefore be well to look briefly, in conclusion, at one or two of the points

* Cf. Vol. I. p. 227, *sq.*

† Vol. II., p. 153.

respecting which Mr. Caird must expect to find himself subjected to rough, if not summary, justice.

And first, Mr. Caird proceeds upon the assumption that Kant can be properly understood only when the critic makes it his business 'to detect a consistent stream of tendency which, through all obstruction, is steadily moving in one direction; to discern the unity of one mind which, through all changes of form and expression, is growing towards a more complete consciousness of itself.* At the close of his survey, again, he writes: 'In the foregoing pages, I have tried to criticise Kant mainly by the light which he has himself kindled; or, in other words, to read his meaning, first, in view of his own mental development as shown in his successive works, and secondly, in view of his influence on the subsequent history of philosophy.† No doubt all will admit this contention. But, will all understand it in the same sense? Will all, even although they go so far with our author in the first part of his contention—regarding Kant himself—find themselves able to agree with the construction put upon the second—regarding Kant's influence in the history of philosophy? It is quite possible, for example, to concur cordially with Mr. Caird when he urges that it is unfair and unwarrantable to treat the *Critique of Pure Reason* in one of its parts as if it were Kant's entire contribution to the progress of philosophy; and, at the same time, to disagree with him, say, in his exposition of the ultimate meaning of this *Critique*. Schopenhauer, to take an instance, has not a little to advance in support of his view, that Kant's idealism is paralleled by a realism of somewhat grossly dualistic cast. Further, one half of the theory of cognition, as has often been said, controverts the other. The contention of the *Critique* is, that knowledge is composed of two elements which are always conjoined; unless they were so conjoined there would be no knowledge. Yet, on the other hand, the proposal is to investigate these elements *as if* they were not thus conjoined. The *Critique of Pure Reason*, in other words, so far from being a self-consistent gradually de-

* Vol. I., p. x.

† Vol. II., p. 630.

veloping whole, proposes a question which it at the same time shows cannot be propounded, much less answered. Once more, it might be proved that Mr. Caird's account of the progress from the *Critique of Pure Reason* to the *Critique of Practical Reason* reads Kant in the light of a development which did not take place. For the two *Critiques* come into collision with one another. The moral law—the categorical imperative—is, according to the second, an *a priori* possession of the mind. According to the first, we only cognise matter of sense, which has been categorised. How then are we aware that there is such a principle as the moral imperative? It is not matter of sense, and so cannot be categorised. The whole ground, therefore, on which the *Critique of Practical Reason* proceeds has already been cut away by the analysis pursued in the *Critique of Pure Reason*. But the *Critique of Judgment* depends upon the *Critique of Practical Reason* in so far as it attempts to clothe this moral law with some sort of reality. Thus, ultimately, its research too must be without positive result. In the same way, also, the processes of the *Critique of Pure Reason* eviscerate the conclusions of the *Treatise on Religion*.* For, either religion has no place in the intellectual life, because of the unknowableness of its content, or it has definite content which, however, is wholly subjective, and therefore devoid of signification in practical life. Passing on, not only might Mr. Caird's light of Kant's inner tendency be thus changed into darkness, but his view of Kant's influence on later thought might be controverted. It presents one aspect, among many, of the historic significance of the critical philosophy. The lustre which Mr. Caird causes subsequent speculation to cast back upon Kant he derives from one chief source. As he tells us in the last paragraph of his book, 'it is impossible to do justice to Kant's philosophy as a whole without at least indicating that it contained the germs of the later German Idealism, and that both as to its form and its matter. This is true as to its *form*, in so far as the method of regress in order to progress which he illustrated, is in itself already the dialectical method

* Cf. *Kant, Lotze, and Ritschl*, L. Stählin.

of Fichte and Hegel, and only superficially distinguished therefrom; and it is true as to its *matter*, in so far as the result of Kant's *Critiques*, and especially of his last *Critique*, is removed only by a step from the Intellectual Intuition of Schelling and the Idealistic Optimism of Hegel.* But while it may be allowed that one, and that the principal, element in Kant's philosophy was developed by the illustrious *Epigones*, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, many will stoutly deny that this was the sole result. The light thrown back upon Kant by Schopenhauer, or Lange, or Cohen, or Lotze, or Hodgson, is not that to which Mr. Caird applies his spectroscope. But, nevertheless, it is a part of Kant's 'after-glow.' And, when carefully analysed, the conclusions that will certainly be drawn from it are, that the critical philosophy represents more a transitional stage of speculative thought, and that it is not a perfectly articulated system full of a reproductive energy all its own. Mr. Caird's plea for more metaphysic is, in short, confronted with the contemporary cry, 'down with metaphysics;' and the one, his opponents will ruthlessly urge, is as much chargeable upon Kant as the other.

Secondly, in spite of the clearness and consistency which Mr. Caird's exposition introduces into the Critical Philosophy, much complaint will certainly be advanced on the score that he improves Kant out of existence. That is to say, Kant, like a touched up photograph, is in many respects made to look so well that he is recognisable only with difficulty. No doubt, as Mr. Caird plainly states, it was the avowed object to bring about some such result. The criticism, we imagine, will be passed on the ground that, in the process of transformation, the desiderated end is kept too constantly in view. Consequently, the uncertainties of Kant, his false steps and backward movements, his inconsistencies and incongruities, are too often passed over in the attempt to cause them all to subserve one purpose. Or, in other words, it may be objected that Mr. Caird does not sufficiently exhibit, in its raw condition, the material which he subjects to a clarifying process for his own

* Vol. II., p. 645.

ends. This criticism naturally applies with much greater force to some parts of his book than to others. We think that it might be most effectually employed in connection with the great chapter on the Transcendental Deduction. There, even a tolerably well-versed Kantian scholar will have to rub his eyes and look several times ere he recognises, in the lucid and self-consistent statement, the linguistic horror and the intellectual see-saw of the original. Kant's doctrine of the spontaneity of mind, for example is developed into something of a wholly different character. 'To recognise that all existence is existence *for* a self is to adopt a principle, the natural outcome or complement of which is the doctrine that all existence is the manifestation of a self. This, as above said, is in a sense to invert the use of the conceptions of noumenon and phenomenon which we find in Kant; but it will be one of the objects of this book to show that in this inversion we discover the essential meaning of Kant's work.* The candour, with which this and similar observations are repeatedly made, deserves every acknowledgment, and would benefit philosophical discussion were it imitated. But we suspect that there are those who would have preferred a further transcription, not a transmutation, of Kant's *ipsissima verba*. The tendency, it may be fairly urged, is to substitute a new reading for the old, all the while taking a special interpretation of the latter for granted.

Thirdly, and lastly, it is evident, from what has already been said, that many will have a special metaphysical objection to bring against Mr. Caird's interpretation. His conception of what 'reality' is, and of the manner of its constitution, cannot but be the occasion of much controversy. This becomes abundantly apparent in his chapter on the Postulates of Empirical Thought, where he lays down most distinctly the idealistic position involved in his representation of Kant. The characteristic attitude of the thought here enunciated, Mr. Caird points out, is well defined by Green. 'Thus taking the "possible object" in one sense, it is quite true that the

* Vol. I., pp. 193-4.

occurrence of a perception corresponding to it makes no difference to its content; but of such an object it is unmeaning to say that, through the occurrence of perceptions, from being possible it becomes real. Taking "possible object" in another sense, it is quite true that the occurrence of a perception converts its possibility into reality, but in doing so, it further *determines the conception* of the object.* Or, as Mr. Caird puts it himself: 'If we could know the whole conditions of an object apart from perception, we should know its reality; and that we cannot do so, merely means that there is no such thing as thought apart from perception, no thought which is not the return of perception upon itself. On the other hand, through the presence of an object in sense, we should not know its reality if such presence were anything externally added to thought; for, in that case it would be at most the presence of a sensuous image, which could not tell us anything about the possibility of any object as such.* This, or a similar conception, is always present to Mr. Caird in his statement of the Kantian metaphysic. The objection, which many will most forcibly urge against it, is obvious. It is too subjective—it transfers reality from the presumed external to a world which, if 'external,' is such only because it is first internal or determined by thought. In short, it rests upon the paradox of the unity of thought and being. Mr. Caird, we take it, does not mean to say that knowledge of all the conditions of an object actually ends in the construction of that object as a 'thing' for sense. He implies, rather, that knowledge of all the necessary conditions already includes what might be given by a specific sense-perception. And this is exactly the cause of the difficulty. Sense-perception is knowable only in terms of thought; thought can only constitute a quasi-external object its object if sense-perception be present. Here we have, it may be argued, a repetition of the old fallacy of Kant himself. It is posited that we know sense and thought only in relation to one another—that they are inseparable ele-

* *Works* of T. H. Green, Vol. II., p. 64. Cf. Caird, Vol. I., p. 599.

* Vol I. pp. 598-99.

ments in the experience apart from which they have no existence. Yet, in explanation of this experience it is proposed to treat them *as if they were separately knowable*, and this in the interest of thought more than of sense. The result is to encircle mankind,—not the individual,—with a ring of subjectivity. Now, the great difficulty of this view is, not that it renders mind creative, as so many to their own confusion insist, but that it is in conflict with the very account of growth in knowledge which Mr. Caird uses as a thesis or necessary assumption. Perception, as it were, challenges conception, and so stimulates the latter to show forth its latent power. But, if there be nothing to perceive, save another ‘work of the mind,’ one may be pardoned for failing to observe how the theory works as a practical explanation. Things, as Green says,* do not cease to be single things when determined by conceptions. But, on the other side, if they did survive in their singleness, there would be no conceptions *of them*. This is the true idealistic dilemma. At one moment things are *there* in reality, at another they are real only for thought. Yet, as the emphasis is ever on the ‘for thought,’ we are forced to conclude that the first reality is ideal, and that, therefore, the alleged process of progress cannot take place, because the conflicting elements necessary to the antagonism do not both exist. In short Mr. Caird’s answer, given to the question, what is Being,—it is Thought,—will be received incredulously by many precisely because it dismisses Being too easily. The question is answered too much according to the Scotch method of asking or suggesting another. For Mr. Caird’s reply in effect is, how can such a question be put, what are the conditions of our being able to frame it? Mr. Caird is repelled by the abruptness of the ordinary realist; the query, what is Being, takes too much for granted; and this Mr. Caird would proceed to investigate. His critics will very naturally be offended by his new manner of interrogation, as the grimy Rudd must have been by Curran’s witty remark:—‘My dear Dick, you can’t think how puzzled we are to know where you *buy your dirty shirts*.’

* Cf. *Prolegomena to Ethics*, p. 31.

It is obviously impossible, within comparatively brief limits, to review a book such as Mr. Caird's with any approach to adequacy. The result of well nigh ten years' labour, his volumes must be their own best commentary. For this reason we have been content to attempt to describe the kind of Kantian' interpretation wrought out in them. In following the intricate course of Mr. Caird's argument, it requires little perception to notice that some portions of it have cost him far greater trouble than others. The first volume as a whole has plainly been the source of much more sustained effort than the second. This was only natural, seeing that he had to deal at the outset with the tangled skein of the pre-Critical development, and with Kant's most technical and internally disjointed *Critique*. In the first volume again, coming now to particulars, the chapters on the pre-Critical Development and on the Problem of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, seem to have occasioned trouble; while, in an ascending scale, continuous exertion and untiring perseverance have been bestowed upon the Analogies of Experience, the Postulates of Empirical Thought, and, above all, upon the Transcendental Deduction of the Categories. In the second volume, the chapter on Freedom strikes one as being the outcome of no little care. Of the work as a whole it is difficult to speak in terms at once sufficient and temperate. It is, and must for long years remain, *the* English book on Kant. So far as our knowledge serves us, nothing comparable with it has been done in any language for this thinker. Remarkable not only for the minute re-statement of the Critical system, but also for the independent philosophical power by which it is abundantly characterised, it is to be regarded as much as an original contribution to speculative thought as a commentary upon the Kantian theory. No student can afford to be without it; every expert must be prepared to reckon with it.

ART. V.—ORIENTAL MYTHS AND CHRISTIAN
PARALLELS.

IT is as interesting as it is curious, to trace the first dawn of Christianity in the East, and to eliminate from the myths of centuries, the true story of man's salvation, purged from tradition and superstition, and 'the floating mists of dark idolatry.'*

All students of ancient Oriental epics and poems, know, that the birth of a Saviour, or Regenerator of Mankind, had been foretold by the supposed inspired writers, or sybils, who composed them; and in the noble poems called *The Puráná*, this expectation is repeatedly mentioned, and men are said 'to sigh and groan' over the accumulated load of the earth's sins, and to pray for the coming of 'a King of Peace and Justice.'

A short time before the birth of the Saviour, the Persian Magi, the Jewish Rabbis, the Roman Sybils, and the Etrurian Augurs, were unanimously giving forth the prophecy that there would soon be born into the world, 'a Holy Child of a Virgin Mother incarnate.'

The belief in these prophecies, was also shared by the northern Gothic nations, whose 'wise men' preached the coming of the *Manu*, or 'new Adam,' who was to commence a new order of peace and morality.

Then the rumour of these things began to spread even as far as India, and in the 3101st year of the *Calí yuga*, the Great King *Vicráma-Dityá*, Emperor of all India, sent to enquire, 'whether indeed it were true, that a wondrous Child, born of a Virgin, should conquer the land and all the world beside.' His messengers returned, and brought him word, that 'in very truth such a child had been born,' and here the old story rambles on, from historic fact, into the myths of the *Puráná* and the *Vedas*. This embassy to the land of the Jews actually took place, and it is a remarkable co-incidence, that in this year of Indian

* Coleridge.

history, Jesus, 'the Holy Child,' had just been born in Bethlehem of Judæa.

The emissaries of 'the Great King,' afterwards wrote an account of their journey and a collection of incidents, purporting to be the events of the first five years of the 'Holy Child's' life. It is very evident, however, that these are but distorted versions of those that may be found in the so-called 'Spurious Gospels.' The stories of the infant Jesus, and the figures of clay, and the sparrows, being identical almost in their wording.

To this relation of their journey, the 'wise men' of India gave the name of the *Cumâricâ-chaudâ*, and the child Jesus was called *Sâ' livâ' hânâ* the son of *Tacshâcâ* the carpenter.

There is no doubt, also, that the fable of *Krishná* is in some way mixed up with much that is founded on truth. He is said to have been 'cradled and educated' amongst a shepherd tribe, and to have been hidden from the murderous intents of a wicked tyrant, who had ordered all male infants to be slain. He is said also to have performed miracles, to have washed the feet of the Brahmins, and to have raised the dead; besides this, he was chief of a tribe called the *Yâdus*, or *Yâhudâs*, who lived in a land called *Yudâ*; the resemblance of this in sound to 'Judah' is apparent. Another tradition states, that *Krishná* disputed with learned doctors, and decided the most intricate questions of love and religion. The Brahmins relate another legendary tale of a 'Holy Man' who was a *Peishé cârá*, or carpenter; this man came unto a certain place, and published a proclamation, 'that all persons in grief and trouble, should come unto him for consolation, and that he in return would lay his life down for them.' This having been told to the king of that land, a decree was issued that he should be seized and condemned to death.

Crucifixion was unknown amongst the Hindoos as a capital punishment; the 'Holy Man' was therefore impaled on a *Sulâ* or *Suli*, i.e., a stake or gibbet. Then he was stretched upon the *Sulâ* in company with two thieves, condemned to the same death, and after he had endured this torture for a certain space of time, a car with celestial choristers came down from heaven, and the 'Holy Man' taking one of the thieves

by the hand, made him enter the car with him, saying "thou also shalt be with me in *Cailâsú*" (or paradise).

Many other Oriental sects, such as the Mussulmans and the Manicheans, will not allow that 'the Regenerator' was crucified, but allege that he was translated to heaven, or that he vanished from human eyes in a miraculous manner.

The earliest knowledge we possess of the preaching of the Christian Gospel in the East, dates from the year 189 A.D., when Pantænus of Alexandria visited India, and found already existing there a small colony of Christians, who possessed a copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew in the Hebrew tongue; this they presented to him on his departure, and it was carried by him to his native city, where it was subsequently seen by Saint Jerome. Following in the footsteps of Pantænus, Saint Frumentius of Abyssinia was the next apostle to the East. It is said that he was a great Oriental linguist, and that understanding several provincial dialects, he was able to preach the Gospel in various parts of India. Tradition also says that during a long period of years, he acted as prime-minister to one of the kings, whose province he visited. He was accompanied on his mission, it is said, by his brother Adhesius, and by their paternal uncle, a learned and ardent Christian of the city of Tyre, who was also greatly interested in studying the philosophy and the people of the lands through which their wanderings led them.

After a long sojourn in India, they departed to return to their own land, but the uncle was murdered by a marauding tribe of unfriendly natives, and the two nephews were carried back to the province where Frumentius had lately served as prime minister, and detained as captives.

However, in course of time, they were set free, and obtained leave to revisit their native country. Saint Frumentius was ordained a bishop, and attended the Council of Nice, in that capacity, in the year 325 A.D. The following year he was consecrated Primate of all India by the famous Saint Athanasius of Alexandria, after which he once more bade farewell to his native land, and returned to India, and there passed, it is believed, the remainder of his life.

The next missionary of whom history bears record is Musœus, Bishop of Aduli, in Abyssinia, who is said to have visited India in company with the celebrated Gothic Bishop, Palladius. The latter suffered so much from the climate, that his health was totally shattered, and he returned to Abyssinia; but Musœus travelled on, and penetrated into Bokhâra, where his efforts met with extraordinary success, and he made numerous converts. At Sirhind, in Bokhâra, there existed in the sixth century a great Christian college, and from it, in 636 A.D. travelled two monks to Constantinople, who introduced to the notice of the Emperor Justinian, the silk trade and the commerce in cocoons, which subsequently brought so much profit to the Turks.

A long chronological blank follows on the journey of the Bishop Musœus, and then, out of the mist of tradition, rises the figure of Saint Theophilus, the greatest among all the Arÿan bishops of India. A native of the town of Diũ in Gujrât, (or Guzerât) he was so 'ebony-black' in complexion, that he was surnamed 'the Blackamoor.' His Hindoo appellation was *Déopâl*, which is synonymous with the Greek name, Theophilus. When a mere boy he was sent to Constantinople, where he became converted to the Christian faith, and took the vows of a celibate monk, many of whom were at this period ordinary priests, and permitted to marry.

Déopâl, or Theophilus, lived through the reigns of Constantine and of his two sons, Constantius and Constantius Gallus, and carried Christianity into Arabia, where, in spite of the determined opposition of the Jews, he succeeded in establishing three churches, which he erected principally for the advantage of the Christian Roman trading community.

The first of these was built at Taphâr, or Taphâron, now called Dâfâr, then the metropolis of Arabia; the second was erected at Aden, and the third at the entrance to the Persian Gulf.

After this great and signal success had been accomplished, Theophilus returned to Diũ, his native town; from thence he encouraged the propagation of Christianity in his own country, but unfortunately, his doctrines were greatly tainted by the

errors of Arius, and sectarian schisms constantly produced stumbling-blocks in his schemes for the conversion of his countrymen. It is not known where Theophilus died, but the historian Suidas relates that the bishop left India again, after some years residence at Diũ, and took up his abode in Antioch; and the last record existing of him is that he accompanied the Emperor Constantius Gallus into Germany, in 354 A.D., penetrating as far as Petavium, or Pettaũ, in Styria.

Next in succession to the great missionary-bishop, came the Hindoo Bishop, Saint Marũthá, of Suphãrá (now called Sufferdãm), of whom we read in various chronicles, that he was present in 383 A.D., at the Synod held at Sides, in Pamphylia. From Suphãrá he was translated to the see of Meyãferkin, in Mesopotamia, where he attempted, but without success, the conversion of Yezdejird I., King of Persia. Saint Chrysostom in his letters, speaks most favourably of the noble zeal of this early Hindoo Bishop.

We learn also, in the Chronicles or *Notitia* of Nilus Doxopatrius, that a certain Hindoo Christian, named Ramogyris, was ordained Bishop by one of the Patriarchs of Antioch, about the same period as Saint Déopãl or Theophilus, and Cosmo Indico-pleustes, who made a tour through India about the year 522 A.D., says, that in his travels, he found on the Malabar coast, and in Ceylon, and also in the north-western provinces of India, 'a vast number of churches, with a full complement of priests, using the Christian Liturgy then ordained by the church of Antioch.'

It is well known that traditions, and chronicles handed down from the earliest fathers and ecclesiastical historians, have all alike declared, that Saint Thomas Didymus was sent on a mission to India, and suffered martyrdom at a small town near Madras in the year 74 A.D.; and it is said that St. Thomas's Mountain is so named, in memory of that event. Be this as it may, so many historians have also mentioned this circumstance as a credible statement, that one may be inclined to believe that there is possibly a certain foundation for the story. St. Jerome, who died in 420 A.D., mentions the mission and death of St. Thomas as a well-established fact, and Rufinus (371 A.D.)

declares that St. Thomas was certainly martyred in India, and that his body was removed to Edessa, where it remained for twenty-five years.

The original place of his sepulchre, was ever after regarded as one of the holiest spots in the Orient, and some portions of his body were retained as relics, as well as the earth on which his blood was spilt. This blood-stained earth was carefully collected by the pious, and carried to distant parts, and was (so says the old tradition), found, when made into a salve with the admixture of water, to be a most efficacious cure for various forms of skin-disease, and hemorrhage! A splendid tomb was erected at Edessa over the remains of St. Thomas, but was afterwards totally destroyed in the wars of the Emperors of the West with the Persians. Gregory of Tours, who flourished in the sixth century, states in his history that 'he knew a worthy man named Theodorus, a great traveller, who had seen this mausoleum; and King Alfred the Great, in fulfilment of a vow, sent (in the ninth century), Sighelm, Bishop of Shireburn, on a special pilgrimage, to do honour to the sepulchre of the martyred Apostle.

Soon after Sighelm's visit, two Mussulman travellers visited the tomb and memorial church of St. Thomas on the coast of Coromandel, and found established there, a large colony of fervent Christians, as also did Marco Polo at a much later date, 1292; he states that there were other colonies besides this one, in various parts of the India Peninsula.

Mussulmans, as well as Christians, held the sepulchre of the Apostle in the greatest veneration, and Marco Polo further informs us, 'that St. Thomas was said to have preached at Aden in Arabia, before he went to Maabar (Malabar?), in India, where he suffered for Christ, and there reposes to this day, his most holy body. In that country the Christians are good soldiers, and remarkable for their honesty.' It is evident that the great traveller was not aware of the removal of the Saint's body to Edessa, or he would not have stated that his interment was at Maabar, as a positive fact. The inhabitants of the district to this day hold the Apostle's memory in the highest reverence, and speak of him as *Aváriiá*, or 'the holy

and pious man.' Marco Polo states that this word is derived from the Sanscrit term *Av-Ary-yá*, signifying 'holiness and purity,' and is the derivative root of the word 'Aryan.'

Ptolemy tell us, 'that there lived, in the third century, in the country of Ariácá, or of the Aryans, 'holy men, rigid penitents and anchorets,' who were styled *Tábássí-máglí*, a word derived from the Sanscrit *Tôpâswi*, pronounced *Tábásá* in the Tamil Dialect, which signifies, contemplative men of austere habits, or hermits. This word is probably synonymous with the origin of the Egyptian word *Tábennă*, and has its roots in the words *Tápá*, austerity, and *Tápó-vân*, a wilderness of austerity, or desert. Ancient church traditions relate that St. Thomas embarked at Aden on his journey to Gudia, where he landed at a city named Hálábôr, indifferently called in after times, Sálô-pâtân, Sálô-pūr, Sálá-bŭ-râm, Hálá-bŭrâm, and Crăngănôr, where he met with a sincere welcome and honourable reception from Mâsdéus Segâmŭs, the king of the country, whose son, Zŭsân, he converted to the Christian faith, and afterwards ordained him deacon of the church he established there; and that after many years of successful labour in the work of conversion, and the erection of numerous churches and monasteries and convents, he suffered martyrdom at a town called Călămíná, known in later times as Măliâr-pŭr, or the City of Peacocks. This town, which is sometimes designated St. Thome, was well known to the Arabs of the Middle Ages by the name of Betŭmă, or Beit-Thômă, the church or house of Saint Thomas. Its name, Călámíná, signifies literally earth and stones; *mănú* being the Tamil for earth, and *călă*, or *călú*, stones, and is synonymous with the French word *cailloux*, pebbles or stones.

Two other accounts also exist of Saint Thomas's mission to India, more or less interspersed with mythical relations, namely one written by Hippolytus, an Arabian Christian bishop, who died 230 A.D., and another by Dorotheus, also an Arabian bishop, who was born in 254 A.D.

The two Mussulman travellers already mentioned, declared in their account of their journey, that 'they found an immense and flourishing colony of Christians in Ceylon, and

that they were protected and encouraged by the king, who kept secretaries to write down their respective histories, and the exposition of their doctrines and laws.' These two travellers likewise state, that these Christians held services or assemblages in edifices erected for that purpose, called 'Chârchitá,' and that the meetings were styled 'Chârchí.'

The early settlement and propagation of Christianity in the East is also mentioned by Ferishtá, a Hindoo historian, who says:—'Formerly, before the rise of the religion of Islam, a company of Jews and Christians came by sea into the country (Malabar), and settled as merchants or Peishecârâs. They continued to live there until the rise of the Mussulman religion.' After the introduction and rapid spread of the tenets of Mahomet into India, the Christian religion sustained a severe check, and the heads of the church lost heart and courage, and no longer sent out missionaries and bishops to the colonies and churches that had been established so many years. This fact is confirmed by several Mussulman historians, who state that in the reign of the Caliph Abdûlmâlek, (who flourished in the latter portion of the seventh century), the poor deserted congregations of Hindoo Christians sent a deputation to Simon the Syrian, Patriarch of Alexandria, imploring him to have compassion upon their spiritual needs, and to send them out pastors to replace those who had died and those who had left them.

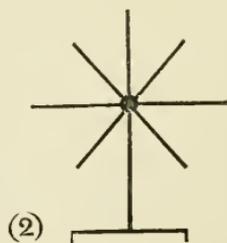
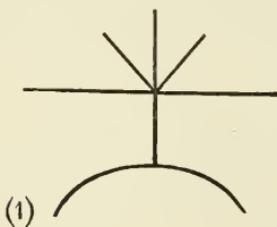
In reference again to the word Chârchá, or Chârchitá, or Chârchí, the Brahmin priests say that the Christian assemblies were so called because that word also signifies a *search* or *investigation* into spiritual matters, and from this root, Renaudot derives the word '*chercher*,' to search.

In consequence of the spiritually destitute condition of the Christian colonies of ancient India, numerous fallacies and idolatrous myths crept in, and became almost insensibly embodied and intermixed with the pure original beliefs and simple church ceremonies and ritual. The converts lapsed into errors of the grossest ignorance, but still preserved by tradition, a certain underlying foundation of Christian truths, to which they joined the fables of Buddhism, and the

thousand and one absurd tales of Hindoo mythology and polytheistic lore ; so that it is small matter for wonder, that the pristine beauty and simplicity of their early faith became clouded by superstitions and myths, and abominable practices of all kinds.

Thus, in an altered form, the original belief of 'an universal Saviour incarnate, Redeemer and Regenerator of mankind,' was transferred to, and merged in, the personality of *Buddha-Godâma*, the Emperor-God, who, like the Christ, entered on his mission after thirty years of age, and also like Him, 'was born of a pure Virgin.' The years of Buddha's life are given as eighty-four, whereas the mission of the Christ lasted but scarcely half of that period.

So much did the Buddhist form of worship seize upon their imagination, that the Christians at last incorporated him with their own ritual, and actually came to believe that Saint Thomas was but a secondary incarnation of Christ, clothed in the personality of a 'Holy Man' ! To this day, it is a singular fact, that the Buddhists use the form of the Cross, as one of the sacred symbols of Buddha-Godâma, whose mother, they say, gave birth to him miraculously, on the trunk of the Tree of Life, of which two of the branches grew crosswise. To commemorate this event the Buddhists frequently employ the cross in the adornment of the cupolas and domes of their temples and monasteries, or of their sacred books ; the most



ordinary forms being those indicated by the above linear outlines ; the crosses being generally made of polished brass or gilt iron.

Another form of ornament also used by the Buddhists

in their temples, is the model of a tree bearing five branches, each of which has seven leaves, whilst on the trunk grow eight; this is exclusively the emblem of Buddha, whilst the above crosses, Figs. 1 and 2, are emblems more especially of the deity Mahâ-Deõ, the Great God, and the Triune incarnations of Buddha-Godâmã in mystic conjunction, thus pointing in their corrupt form, to the three persons of the Christian Godhead and belief.

It is impossible not to realize that the adoption of the emblem or symbol of the cross by the Buddhists, their monastic and conventual systems, their doctrines of absolution, purgatory and sacred incarnations, are simply a distorted image of the mysteries of the Christian religion, handed down through the myths of past centuries, and that they are but shreds and vestiges of the purer faith inculcated by the Great Apostle of the East, and his band of bishops and pastors.

Buddha-Godâmã has now arrived at a separate individuality and unique Godhead, and is (so the sacred books of the Buddhists declare), in perpetual warfare with another divine, or celestial personage (a species of anti-christ, if such a term may be used), whose name is *Vivã-Cãrmã*, or *Dévã-Twãshãtã*, the Divine Artist or Carpenter, known also under the appellation of *Dévã-Silpî* and *Tévétât*, whose numerous disciples and worshippers spread themselves all over India, and followed the trade of carpenters and carvers in wood and ivory, and dyers.

It is a curious coincidence that the early Christian Hindoos, who emigrated to Persia and Greece, and settled themselves there in large colonies, adored 'Christ the Carpenter' as a species of *godlike* saint, but without attributing to him a 'divinity incarnate.'

Hence, in like manner, at the present time, the Persian Mussulman or Mahommedan carpenters and dyers have adopted Christ as their 'patron saint,' or 'Holy Man.'

Thus, step by step, we mount, by these quaint traditions and mysterious myths, the ladder of time, to those distant ages, when Christianity first dawned on the dark night of idolatry in the East, and draw from them the conclusion that they

have had their origin in the subverted doctrines of the pure gospel of the 'Great Messenger' and Redeemer, carried to 'the far Orient' by His disciples, martyrs, and missionaries, in whose footsteps are following an army of self-sacrificing men, throwing themselves body, heart, and soul into the work of carrying further and further, into the darkness of a benighted land, the 'gladness' of man's redemption, the humanizing influences of civilization, and a 'Gospel of Peace.'

FLORENCE LAYARD.

ART. VI.—LUTHER MONUMENTS AND THE GERMAN
REVOLUTION OF 1525.

I.

YEAR by year, Germany is doing more and more honour, by means of monuments, to the eminent men of her great historical past. Quite recently, the statues of two famed champions of the Reformation in State and Church—Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen—have been unveiled, near Kreuznach, on the Ebernburg. That was Sickingen's castle, situated towards the middle course of the Rhine, and widely known in his time as the 'Shelter-house of Justice' (*Herberge der Gerechtigkeit*); that stronghold serving as a refuge for those suffering from princely or priestly persecution.

Since the impressive ceremony in the Ebernburg, a Luther monument has been raised at Erfurt. Another is on the point of being erected at Berlin. Even so, one at Eisenach. It is now more than twenty years ago, that at Worms—famous for the Reichstag at which the sturdy monk had to appear before the Emperor Charles V. and the parliamentary representatives of the nation—a memorial of far grander design was unveiled, which the young Emperor William II. musingly contemplated only a few weeks back, during his visit to that most ancient town. The Worms memorial is truly a powerful composition. It contains a large

array of historical figures; among them, not only those connected with the German Reformation, but also Luther's forerunners: Wiclif, Waldo, Savonarola, and Huss. Still, even this vast sculptural structure, promoted as it was under princely patronage, gives but a one-sided idea of the troublous, yet hopeful period which is commonly called the time of the Reformation, but which in reality was marked not only by religious or theological aspirations, but also by stormy political and social risings full of heroism and bloodshed.

By placing the medallions of Hutten and Sickingen on the upper bronze cube of the Luther monument at Worms, the political aspect of the Reformation was, at any rate, indicated in a slight degree. However, in the official celebration which then took place, and which filled the whole country with Luther's name and fame, one point was strangely hushed up, by speakers and writers, with an uneasy care, lest they should offend royal ears. This point is, the doings of the renowned Reformer shortly before, and during, the so-called War of the Peasants—an epoch of colossal turmoil. The silence preserved on this important and highly interesting subject afterwards gave rise to much discussion. Some, at least—and I may claim to have been among them—insisted on the stirring events in question not being crushed out of remembrance. But the tremendous war of 1525-26, and the mighty results that flowed from it, once more turned men's minds away from such retrospect.

At last, Hutten and Sickingen have been awarded a twin monument of their own. Even this, however, gives but an insufficient idea of what really occurred in Luther's days; for the mail-clad man of letters, once the Poet Laureate of Germany, who so passionately attacked the Roman priesthood, and who strenuously worked for the regeneration of the Empire, as well as the warrior-knight who had the stuff in him for a Lord Protector of Germany, both died before the great political and social thunderstorm came down. It is the actors in this latter event that will one day have to be commemorated also in any proper Reformation monument. Meanwhile I believe it will be useful to show how curiously those

err, who, like Mr. Froude, seem to look upon the terrible upheaval of 1524-25 as a mere local riot, or who think of Luther himself only as a theologian, a *Mann Gottes*, wholly disengaged from State affairs. No greater mistake could be made.

The real historical fact is, that Germany passed then through a Revolution of extraordinary magnitude, and that Luther played a very notable part during its stormy course. This is too much forgotten now-a-days. In France, as everybody knows, there is a habit of dating the Modern Era—nay, the very rise of the principles of self-government and of intellectual enlightenment—from the mighty events of 1789-93. Now, the chief maxims of the first French Revolution are certainly acknowledged by the progressive parties all over the world. Yet, after all, the French Revolution was heralded in by the American Revolution with its striking Declaration of the Rights of Man. Before the American Revolution, the English Commonwealth had risen, from whose procedures, as well as from the ideas of the founders of the United States, the Revolution in France at first took largely its cue.

Few, however, are properly aware of the fact that more than a century before the Puritan and Independent rising in England, there had been a German Revolution which for a considerable time shook the whole Empire with Liberal, Democratic, and Levelling aspirations, and which was only overcome by a series of battles in the open field. Nay, before this upheaval of the sixteenth century, Germany had had, in the fourteenth century, her 'Eidgenossen' Leagues. They were associations of a strongly Democratic character, extending from Aachen in the North to Ulm and Zurich, then still a town in the Empire; whilst the Hansa, holding sway on the coasts of the German Ocean and the Baltic, and reaching far inland, gave a Republican stamp to that part of our country. Free Switzerland was the outcome of the struggles of those 'Eidgenossen' Leagues. To this day, the Mountain Commonwealth calls itself the *Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft*. For historical accuracy's sake I will at once add that all those risings in Germany, England, America, and France, had been preceded by the republican Towns' Leagues of Italy, whose

old Lombard idea of Teutonic self-rule, combined with Latin culture, transfused itself, even after it had been defeated, into the cities of neighbouring countries.

An additional fact, referring to the epoch known as the Reformation, must not be forgotten. It is this: that at the side of the Evangelical and Democratic insurrection against the Roman hierarchy and the aristocratic order, there was, in Luther's days, a widely-spread philosophical movement in Germany. It was that of the so-called Humanists. Though many of its champions—with a worldly wisdom and a self-seeking mental reservation not unknown also to after-times—dealt tenderly enough with the existing clerical and secular powers, others were of a more independent cast of mind. Among some of them, a spirit can easily be traced, kindred to that of the later Encyclopedists. Here, too, there is a remarkable contact with, or foreshadowing of, the philosophical movement which characterised the eighteenth century in England and France, and which in the latter country certainly helped to bring about the overthrow of the old state of things.

In the beginning of his career, Luther himself had been attracted towards the classical studies, in preference to theology, which for a short time he even gave up. Aristotle, Cicero, Vergil, Cato, Plautus, had then more charm for him than the Fathers of the Church. Nor did he, both as a Professor of Philosophy and of Divinity, escape from the doubts which assailed the minds of many who had drunk at the Greek and Roman fountains of knowledge. Years after he had been the recognised leader of the Reformation, when his name already resounded throughout Europe, he still wrote (in 1527):—
'You may vanquish the temptations of the flesh; but oh! how difficult it is to battle with the temptations of blasphemy and despair!' Again: 'Having well nigh lost my Christ, I was tossed about fearfully on the waves, amidst the storms of despair and of revolt against God.'

In his *Table Talk* he also referred to these mental torments. 'Sometimes the Devil,' he said, 'has thrown me into such despair that I even did not know whether there was a God, and that I felt great doubts about our dear Lord Christ. But

the word of God soon restored me.' In another passage he speaks of the scepticism that arose in him as to the immortality of the soul, which he, in accordance with the prevailing creed, held to be tantamount to the resurrection of the flesh. He said he could not understand how a man who had lost a leg, say in the Turkish wars, and perhaps an arm elsewhere, should at a third place, where he is buried, be able to rise from the grave to eternal glory. The logic was rather defective from his own theological point of view. He evidently did not think of those Christians who were accidentally burnt, or of the martyrs of the Reforming creed who were given over to the flames even in his own time in Germany by the Roman Catholic Church, wherever, as at Köln and Munich, it still held strong power.

The epoch in which Luther lived, was certainly not wholly filled with theological quarrels; nor were a number of the Reformers themselves averse to somewhat rationalistic views. Men like Karlstadt, Denk, Butzer, Capito, Oekolampadius, and, last but not least, Zwingli, rejected distinctly the stricter orthodox tenets. Others were at heart imbued with a simple Deism, which they merely sprinkled over with Biblical quotations. Some denied not only the doctrine of the Real Presence, but also resisted the custom of baptising children. Outside this much divided camp of Church Reformers, the classicists and philosophers proper went by their own systems of thought.

Even Ulrich von Hutten, standing at first midway between the Humanists and the ecclesiastical Reformers, wrote in the beginning of Luther's movement, which he afterwards joined:— 'A war has broken out between hot-headed monks. It is only to be hoped that they will eat up each other.' In the same way, Mosellanus, who opened the disputation at Leipzig between Luther and Eck with a speech of his own, wrote to Erasmus privately, amidst the preparations for this theological contest:— 'There will be a curious dispute, and a fierce quarrel, between some scholastics. Ten Democritusses will get enough to be filled with laughter!'

These few indications may show that in the German movement of the sixteenth century, when classical studies were so much to the fore, views and tendencies cropped up which

strongly resembled subsequent similar movements in England and France. Nor is this surprising at all. When we remember that long before Luther, in the twelfth and thirteenth century, the Minne-singer or troubadour school of Germany—with the celebrated poet of those days, Walther von der Vogelweide, at its head—had already attacked the Papacy in terms of almost incredible strength, calling upon the nation to resist what they held to be the unbearable claims and exactions of the tyrannical and greedy Bishop of Rome: it will appear less astonishing that, 300 years afterwards, there should have been a further start in the sense of the Humanists.

I do not say this in detraction of the importance of the world-famed Reformer of Wittenberg. But facts are facts, however unwelcome to some, and in the interest of historical truth they must be stated, if we would obtain both a correct idea of Luther's individuality and of the German Revolution of 1524-25, which is somewhat miscalled 'the War of the Peasants.'

II.

Here, the notion must at once be got rid of, that the political and social tempest which raged in those years, was a mere servile revolt—as many imagine who have not studied the details. It was neither so as regards the men who fought in it, nor those who led it; nor were its aims and objects exclusively confined to raising the condition of the hind.

First of all, two classes of peasants were engaged in the rising: the mere land-slave who was tied to the soil, instead of the soil being his or the free commune's; and a better class of farmers—in some cases, even substantial yeomen. Secondly, the programme of the political agitators, who in Puritan manner were also bent upon church reform, aimed at the Parliamentary re-construction of the Empire on a more Liberal or Democratic basis. Some of these agitators raised the flag of a German kingdom one and indivisible—under an elective Imperial head, as was always the custom from the formation of the Empire down to its dissolution in 1806. Others took their model of a Commonwealth from Switzerland, which not long ago had seceded from the Fatherland.

Both sections of these Evangelical insurgents were enemies of the clerical 'dead hand' in land-law affairs. They also wanted to abolish that petty dynastic power which was then beginning to sap and to dismember the unity of the nation. Of the leaders, the most prominent were, not peasants, but men of the middle class: some, ex-officials; not a few, Evangelical preachers; and one of the very best, a nobleman, Florian Geyer von Geyersberg, who died the death of a hero. The south, the west, and the centre of Germany were the scene of the vast upheaval. As to the prospect which the multitudinous rising had at one time, a saying of the Prince Elector John of Saxony may be quoted as a characteristic one. 'If God wills,' he exclaimed, 'that I should remain a Prince, so be it! But I can very well manage as a private person.' When Princes speak in this way, Revolutions have not quite a bad chance.

In the British Museum I have found a very curious print, though it was not included in the Luther Exhibition of the Grenville Library. It is entitled: 'Covenant, Order, and Instruction, as adopted by all the Peasant Armies that have entered into a League.' On the first page a number of peasants are portrayed: long-haired, full-bearded, well-armed. The long hair and the full beard were the old mark of the German freeman, as it was that of his kinsman, the 'free-necked, weaponed man' among the Anglo-Saxons. The hind only was close-cropped. In the wood-cut of this 'Covenant' print, most peasants appear with harness on their stalwart body, with long swords, battle-axes, halberds, and club-flails. Such weapons were kept by many German peasants of the better order as an heirloom of their free forefathers. A spear, a buff-coat, or a breast-plate, still formed a not infrequent equipment of a peasant at Luther's time. This we gather from various sources; for instance, from the amusing *Landsknecht* (lansquenet) drolleries of Hans Sachs, himself one of the stoutest champions of the Reformation.

Among even the lowest class of German yeomen—especially in the South—a different tone and spirit then existed from what many may expect who in England, until recently, were, and in a great measure still are, wont to think of a poor tiller

of the soil as of a man merely caring for 'bacon, beer, and 'baccy.' Our peasants of the sixteenth century were still full of the old national traditions. They repeated the ancient tales about Siegfried and the whole heroic cycle. This custom lingered with many of them down to our days. I well remember from boyhood the penny chap-books with antiquated type and rather archaic, not to say horrid, wood-cuts, in which these tales were then offered to the crowd; and I often saw peasants in the Rhine countries eagerly buying them, as they were leaving the fair of a neighbouring town.

Again, at Luther's time, and much later still, the German peasantry had theatrical representations of their own, partly of a religious, partly of a secular, kind. The Black Forest and Swabia in general, chief centres of the rising of 1524-25, as well as Bavaria and the Tyrol, stood foremost in the cultivation of a proper stage. The Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau is but a later echo and last remnant of that once widely prevailing institution which included the performances of secular, aye, in some cases, of romantic dramas referring to the deeds of the chivalry—which dramas were enacted by peasants.

Now, it is not always the most oppressed, the hopelessly ground down and utterly despairing, who first rise against misrule. The class just above them, which still has a spark of the fire of independence in its hearts, often leads a movement for further emancipation. At least, in some districts of the south-east of Germany, yeomen possessing from 10 to 30,000 gulden (a sum then four or five times the value of what it is now) were in the peasant movement, whilst trying to moderate it and to keep it from excesses. It was, therefore, not merely 'John Clodhopper, Bob Pear-stalk, Jack Daisy, or Tom Broomstick with the Bark-shoes, the village mayor whose escutcheon is composed of eggs'—as an old aristocratic satire sneeringly styles the agricultural labourers—who rose in the War of the Peasants.

The 'Covenant and Instruction' alluded to gives the Peasant League the name of 'The Christian Union.' It provides for the reception of burghers, of handicraftsmen, of towns' authorities, even of lords of the manor, into its organiza-

tion. Everywhere, the accepted term for the Peasant Leagues by and by came to be 'The Christian Union.' We have here a proof in itself, that the junction of various classes for political and social reforms, not merely a servile insurrection, was projected.

Originally—and this is important—not even a revolt or war-like rising was intended. At least, it was looked upon as a last dire necessity, to be avoided as long as possible, and to be undergone only if negotiations were to fail. This we can see from the fact of the 'Instruction' proposing to accept as arbitrators, for bringing about a friendly compromise, a Lieutenant-Governor of the Empire, the civic magistrates of Nuremberg, Zurich, Strassburg, and various other towns, together with a number of pastors and men learned in law, whose names are given.

May we not, then, truly say that down to the last moment a spirit of conciliation actuated the suffering masses who still shrank from the difficult armed conflict? And do not those who by their harsh refusal provoked the arbitrament of the sword, stand convicted before history as guilty of the shedding of torrents of blood?

In the number of towns whose magistrates were proposed as umpires, that of Zurich may create surprise. Zurich had been a member of the Swiss Confederacy since the middle of the fourteenth century. Strassburg, of course, was in Luther's days a German town, as it is again now. But in some undefined way, the Republican League of the Alps was still held to be under the protection of the German Empire until the Treaty of Westphalia, in 1648. The free mountaineers themselves, who in 1499 had victoriously maintained their rights in a final struggle against the Emperor Maximilian, were in the sixteenth century on terms of much friendliness with their neighbouring German kinsmen. Against any common danger, Germans and Swiss, brethren in blood and speech, and not long ago also by political ties, still considered themselves morally bound together. Thus, in spite of grievous wars, the division-line was by no means so sharp a one as it became later

on. This will explain the choice of Zurich as one of the proposed arbitrators.

When Luther began his agitation, some of the discontented parties in Germany were wont to express admiration for the Swiss mode of government. This went on for a long time, both among burghers and peasants, particularly in Swabia and Franconia. Hans Sachs, the renowned poet and valued fellow-worker of Luther and Melanchthon, may here be quoted, for his voice resounded throughout Germany. He was proud of the semi-republican constitution of his native city, which he describes in his 'Song of Praise for the Town of Nuremberg.' At the same time, as may be seen from that poem itself, he firmly upheld the cause of national unity, as embodied in the Empire. Against the self-seeking petty dynasties, the oppressive landed aristocracy, the robber-knights, as well as against the Roman hierarchy, which is the theme of some of his bitterest poems, the Patriarch of the Master-singers fought with extraordinary severity. In his historical lay, 'Of the Rise of the Swiss and their True Government,' Hans Sachs openly sides with the Republican Confederacy. He rejoices in its recent victories. He extols it as an example of that true Commonwealth spirit, which 'allows no exactions or robbery to be practised upon the people, but maintains good civic policy.' With all his heart he wishes the Swiss prosperity for aye and for ever. Though this particular poem of Hans Sachs is much later than the rising of 1524-25, the spirit which breathes in it was that of large masses of the German population in town and thorp, between the end of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century.

Can we wonder that, with such a political atmosphere around him, Luther himself should have written of hard-hearted princes and noble lords as of 'madmen, fools, reprobrates, jailors, hangmen, and wicked wretches?'

III.

When he began his Reformation work, Luther strongly felt the necessity of making friends both among the more Liberal, patriotic section of the nobility, as distinguished from the

princes, and among the middle and working class, as well as among the peasantry. Hence his many and highly important political and social writings, of which, however, very seldom any notice is taken, though they merit the fullest attention if we would rightly understand the period in which he lived.

‘To give to the German nation, my dear fatherland, the services I owe to it:’ with these significant words he explained at Worms the motive which had made him enter upon the struggle against the Papacy. This is not the language of the mere theologian. On his part, Hutten, in three letters addressed to Luther, wrote: ‘Long live Freedom!’—‘Let us strive for, and gain, public Liberty!’—‘Let us free our oppressed Fatherland!’ In this vein, Luther himself at first declared for the German nation, as against the supremacy of a foreign hierarchical system; for the political rights of the Kaiser, as against the Pope; for the cause of national unity, as against the priests and the princelings; for the redress of the grievances of the tillers of the soil, and of the handicraftsmen, as against aristocratic misrule and oppressive merchants’ practices. In this latter respect, his treatise on *Commerce and Usury*, published a year before the great revolutionary attempt, is a most remarkable one. It reads a tremendous lesson, not only to rapacious wholesale dealers and middlemen, but also to grasping princes who secretly were their partners. ‘Small thieves’—Luther says—‘are hanged; but the great thieves go about in gold and silk.’

In an Address to the Emperor Charles V., Luther wrote:—‘Before all, no secular affairs shall any longer be given over to Rome for judgment there. By an Imperial law, or by a law of the German nation at large, it shall be resolved that no *annats* [that is, the first year’s revenues of a church benefice], are to be paid any more to the Papal Chair. No fiefs shall any longer be drawn to Rome.’ He then demands that, barring the ceremony of anointment and coronation, the Pope shall not have any power over the Emperor; that the ‘devilish arrogance’ of the Pope to have his feet kissed, or his stirrups held, or the bridle of his mule tendered to him, by the Kaiser, shall henceforth not be tolerated. Such claims Luther denounced

as 'ridiculous and childish.' The assertion about a so-called donation of Constantine, on which the temporal power of the Papacy is founded, he declared to be an 'impudent, shameless lie.' Luther goes on:—'Nor is the Emperor to acknowledge any claim of the Pope to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. The Pope has just as much right there as I myself have.'

Again:—'We Germans, thinking ourselves masters as we do, have become the menials of the craftiest despots. We have the name, the title, and the scutcheon of the Empire; but its treasures, its powers, its might, and its freedom are in the hands of the Pope. How is it that we Germans allow such robbery and exaction on the part of the Pope? If the kingdom of France has opposed him, why do we Germans permit ourselves to be fooled and apishly mocked?'

In the same address, Luther pleads for the abolition of all canonical laws, from the first letter to the last. He even gives credit to the Turks for having a far better code than the one existing in Germany with its confusion of civil and hierarchical law. In a very telling aside, referring to Huss, he remarks:—'If it were a fine art to vanquish heretics by fire, the hangman would be the most learned of all Doctors on earth. Nor need we, in such a case, study any more; for he who got boldly the upperhand over the other, would simply have to burn him.'

In our own time, M. Louis Veillot, the well-known ultramontane writer at Paris, has expressed the opinion that 'it is a pity Huss was burnt so late, and Luther not at all.' On the recent occasion of the Giordano Bruno memorial at Rome, a Roman Catholic bishop, and not a few ultramontane writers in various countries, actually upheld the decree of the Holy Inquisition which delivered over the living body of the freethinking philosopher to the flames. The Pope himself, before his Consistory, spoke in a similar strain. Facts like these have to be remembered, in order to arrive at a historical insight into the mind of Luther, when he gave counsel of what seems now incomprehensible fierceness. 'If their raging fury'—he wrote—'should continue, I ween there were no better means and medicament for curing it, than that kings and princes should

betake themselves to attack by force those poisoners of the world, and to make an end of the game—with weapons, not with words. If they punish thieves with the sword, murderers with the rope, heretics with fire: why do we not rather, with arms in hand, lay hold of those noisome teachers of corruption, such as Popes, cardinals, bishops, and the whole swarm of the Roman Sodom, washing our hands in their blood?’

When Spalatin urged him to restrain his pen, Luther answered that he (Spalatin) ‘must not think the Gospel could be furthered simply by peaceful agitation, but that turmoil, revolution, the sword, and war would come in its wake.’ This view had its reason both in the temporal power of the Papal Church, and in its deeds. As at Rome, so in Germany the priesthood were in possession of political and territorial power. The very election for the Crown of the Empire was, in the College of Prince Electors, where archbishops sat, often directed from the Vatican. This state of things was frequently used by the Popes for the political convulsion of Germany by raising counter-kings against the legally chosen king.

So sang Walther von der Vogelweide, at the end of the twelfth century:—

Ha! ha! How the Pope now laughs in Christian mood!

Says to his Italians: ‘Have I not done good?’

(Would that he never had had such a thought!)

He cries: ‘I have two Germans under one Crown brought,

The Empire to disturb, its fertile lands to waste!

Meanwhile we fill our chest!

I’ve doomed their all to my offering; their goods are all mine.

Their German gold flows to my Italian shrine.

What ho! ye priests, be jolly! eat pullets, and quaff wine;

And let the silly Germans fast!

Luther stood, towards the rights of his nation, in the same position as that famed Minne-singer and many of his school did more than 300 years before. Of lowly origin, the great Reformer was also mindful of the people’s material welfare. ‘I am a peasant’s son,’ he said; ‘my father, grandfather, and great-grandfather have been peasants.’ Hence he spoke for some of the grievances of that class in strong, nay, revolutionary language, even when earnestly admonishing the oppressed not

to oppose force by force, but rather, in proper Christian fashion, to suffer wrong.'

Besides his own proletarian descent, Luther had good reason to seek political favour with the popular classes, because in them lay the strength of the Evangelical movement in the beginning. In them—but also, it must be noted, in a section of the lesser nobility who were being ground down by the petty princes. At Worms, during the Reichstag where Luther had to defend himself, a placard appeared on the Town Hall, in which five hundred knights were alleged to be banded together for his cause against the Papal party. The placard ended with the words:—'My writing is bad, but I mean great harm with 8000 armed men: Bundschuh! Bundschuh! Bundschuh!' The secret Peasant League of the Bundschuh ('Laced Shoe,' the foot-gear of the peasants, in distinction from the high boots of the knights), was thus brought in as a would-be defender of the persecuted Reformer.

It is a noteworthy fact that in several writings—apparently published, shortly before the War of the Peasants, as a warning against rebellion—Luther introduced many sentences of an exactly contradictory meaning. Was it the result of his ecclesiastical training and caution? He acknowledged that the peasantry had good cause (*redliche Ursache*) for using physical force. He wrote: 'I have heard not without pleasure that the clergy' [very large landowners and hard taskmasters, then, of the land-slave], 'are in such fear and apprehension, because they may be thereby brought to repent, and to soften their furious tyranny. *And would to God that such fright and terror were still greater!* . . . It is right, and pleases me well, that such plague has come over those Papists. . . . The biting will soon become even better. . . . I have never yet allowed myself to be induced to check those who threaten with the fist or the flail; for I know well that, though some may be attacked by them, there will not be a general attack.'

In using phrases which seemed to imply the right of physical force, Luther was, however, careful to add a belief that the danger of a universal and successful revolution was not near. Yet, on other occasions, he had prophesied 'a general Revolu-

tion throughout German lands' (*sine grosse Empörung in teutschen Landen*). Thus he rather played for a time with the fire, whilst professing to extinguish it and to 'hold always with those who suffer from insurrection, even though their cause be an unrighteous one.'

This unrighteousness of princes and lords he, meanwhile, denounced in words which show what freedom of speech was the German custom then. 'Doest thou want to know'—he said—'why God has ordained that the secular princes should run this cruel course of theirs? I will tell thee. God has maddened them, because he wants to make an end of them, as well as of the ecclesiastical rulers. These secular princes understand nothing but to flay and to skin; to lay on one tax after the other, one impost after the other; to let out a bear here, and a wolf there. No justice, no faith, no truth is to be found among them. They act worse than robbers and rascals; their government is as base as that of the priestly tyrants. They load themselves heavily with sin, with the hatred of God and man, that they may go to wreck and ruin with the bishops, clerics, and monks—one miserable wretch (*Bube*) after the other. Their wrong-headed wickedness has merited, and continues to merit, an overthrow, even as was the case with the Romans, when they went down. Look! there thou knowest now the judgment of God against those uppish fellows (*grosse Haunsen*). But they themselves must not believe it, lest God's serious judgment should be interfered with by their repentance.'

Again :—

'They (the princes) walk about like blind men; they do not see what their office requires from them. Therefore they must fall and perish, even as they deserve. Verily, a human heart would shrink in fright and terror if it heard the judgment and sentence passed in heaven on such tyrants. . . . These criminal and worthless rulers, enveloped as they are in utter darkness, shall shortly be overthrown. Against such danger they have prepared themselves with a stark and thick-headed disbelief, which gives them hearts of stone and iron heads, so that they do not care for such sentence, and wait for their

doom in defiant pride. Very well, let them go to the Devil because they won't have it otherwise !'

Furthermore, and this too was written less than a year before the Revolution, which had been gradually gathering to a head by local tumults :—

'What else could the Devil have to busy himself with, than that he should thus have a carnival with his own people? Aye, these people of his own are our Christian princes, they who "defend the faith" and eat up the Turk. Really, a fine sort, and well to be trusted! With their cleverness they will certainly succeed in something—namely, in breaking their necks, and spreading misery in their country and among their subjects.'

In other passages, Luther brands the riotous and luxurious life of the princes. He gives them up in utter despair. When the clang of arms began to resound, he said to the princes and lords :—

'Do not despise this rebellion, I pray you! God has the power of turning stones into peasants, and throttling a hundred of you by a single peasant, so that all your harnesses and your forces will be of no avail. If you are yet open to any advice, dear lords, make some concession, for God's sake, to this wrathful uproar! Do not begin the battle with the peasants; for you cannot know what the end and outcome will be. Try peaceful means; for you do not know what God will do. A spark may fly out and *light up a conflagration throughout Germany which nobody can quench.*'

Alternately turning against the insurgents and against their rulers, Luther finally wraps them up in a common curse. Still, though his rage is directed against princes, peers, and peasants as well, he owns that the people who have risen in arms, 'do not fight against Christ, but against tyrants and persecutors of God and man, and against murderers of the saints of Christ'—that is, against enemies of the Evangelical cause.

IV.

When all attempts to bring about an amicable settlement, such as Luther had worked for, had failed, the Revolution

rapidly spread—first, over southern Germany, from the Bohemian frontier to Lorraine, which was then still within the German frontier, and again, from the Tyrol to the Harz Mountains in the North.

Several towns of importance, such as Heilbronn, Fulda, Frankfort on the Main, Mühlhausen in Thuringia, and Erfurt, were involved in the struggle. In some parts of the country, the mayors and common councillors appear as wellwishers, or even as leaders, of the Revolution. Some noblemen also were received into the 'Christian Union.' They joined it either from hatred of the Roman Catholic priesthood which had appropriated vast tracts of land at the expense of the nobility itself; or they did so from a sense of patriotism, which told them that the Empire would come to utter grief if crying abuses were upheld; or lastly, because they were pressed into the service of the Christian Union. This happened, for instance, to that famed Swabian knight, Götz von Berlichingen with the Iron Hand, whose figure is the subject of one of Goethe's dramas. He was entrusted with a command by the peasants, 'because,' they said, 'he might bring over the aristocracy to their cause.' Götz, however, played false to the trust put in him.

In some cases, the nobles marched in linen coats, like labourers, with the popular armies—even as French nobles, at the time of the Revolution, occasionally donned Jacobin costumes and republican insignia for their own security. From one of the reports we see that German noblemen were sitting in the insurgent camp, apparently as friends, but 'ashy-pale in face—the very image of death.' It is like a terrible picture of 1793.

I can here but indicate with a few rapid strokes the course and end of this revolutionary drama. Peasant troops, strengthened by allied hosts from the towns, started everywhere from the ground, as if by magic. It was a vast number of men, but badly organized. In many cases, however, they were provided with good weapons, mainly requisitioned from castles and clerical armouries; for the Roman Catholic hierarchy itself possessed military establishments then. The chief Peasant

Army of the South had ordnance, and 3000 muskets. But the insurgents, as a rule, were incompetent to deal with the well-ordered princely troops. The bane of the movement was that worthless gangs of murderers, men incapable of subordination, and only bent upon a momentary satisfaction of wishes and passions long held in forced check, clung to the revolutionary legions. Then there was an easy-going carelessness and credulity among a section of the peasants: they allowed their foes to protract sham negotiations with this or that insurgent camp, whilst another peasant troop was in the meantime fallen upon and butchered. We know from the records of the victors themselves that they systematically acted in that way, using the mask of compromise until they could strike an effective blow.

Again, among the more energetic men of the popular party, there was too much mistrustfulness towards their own chiefs, even towards the best and the purest. Owing to this feeling of mistrust and jealousy, the 'Directing Council of the Seven' in the South was so often changed as to make strong leadership impossible. Had there been more steadiness in action, more centralized and therefore more powerful leadership, the rising would have had far greater chances of success. Indeed, on one occasion, so dangerous a mutiny broke out among the *landsknecht* soldiery of the commander-in-chief of the princely army in the South, that he was very nearly being overcome by the peasant troops.

Yet, in spite of all the confusion which existed on the side of the revolutionary hosts, we come upon remarkable proofs of the wisdom and far-reaching ideas of some of their leaders. In the town of Heilbronn, a Constitutional Committee was established, which, in the midst of the armed contest, occupied itself with questions of a general Reform of the Empire, and the future convocation of a National Constituent Assembly. Its papers are still extant. One of its projects deals, in fourteen chapters, with a reconstruction of the Empire in the sense of a thoroughly United Germany, re-organized in State and Church, on the basis of a limited, elective monarchy; the introduction of large law-reforms; the abolition of all cloisters

and of all priestly intervention in secular matters; the abolition of all feudal tenures, of all custom-house impediments to commerce, and of all trade monopolies; the establishment of one standard in coin, weights, and measures; and the dissolution of all local confederacies, whether of princes, nobles, or towns. This reads almost like a draft of moderate Constitutional reform in the France of 1789. Other projects aimed at a more Democratic organization of Germany.

When a popular rising is defeated, a mass of calumny, a pile and pillar of disgrace, is often the only memorial raised by the victors over the grave of the vanquished. But even as Antigone, in Sophokles' drama, says: 'I dare to raise a tomb to my dearly beloved brother!'—so Zimmermann, the historian of the War of the Peasants, chose the same expression as a motto for his valuable work. And though he afterwards, in the second edition, dropped that quotation, there are many others now, who will ever, in the spirit of Antigone's saying, acknowledge the justness of the grievances which led to this movement, as well as admire the heroism which fired many among its best leaders as well as not a few of its more obscure supporters.

An unfortunate circumstance in the Revolution was, that the aid which the peasants got from the towns was generally afterwards neutralized by counter-revolutions within city-walls. Nevertheless, so formidable did the insurrection prove, that the princes and nobles, before meeting it by force of arms, always thought it necessary to employ the most palpable deception, in order to lull the people into a feeling of security, and then to beat them in detail. Scarcely in a single instance was faith kept with the peasants when a truce had been concluded. They were surprised and massacred with merciless treachery. These deeds of blood led to reprisals. One of the ghastliest scenes occurred after the victory of the insurgents at Weinsberg. There young Count Helfenstein and some other faithless nobles, who had been guilty of treacherous butchery during negotiations, were driven through the spears; the Count's own piper playing a dance-music before him, and trumpets and reed-pipes joining the melody. Count Helfen-

stein's wife, a daughter of the late Emperor Maximilian, was sent away with her child on a dung-cart, by way of ignominy. We always find, in times of turmoil, that, even as courage is catching, so cowardice is; and so is that vile cruelty which indulges in shameful atrocities.

But even in this case, the deed done was the result of a fit of frenzy brought about by aristocratic perjury and massacre. It was, moreover, the act of a mere handful of peasants, under an irresponsible ringleader, Jäcklin Rohrbach—an act unknown, when performed, to nine-tenths of the popular army. On hearing of it, Florian Geyer, one of the best leaders, at once withdrew from that body of insurgents. From thence, he fought at the head of a troop of men under his own exclusive command.

Among the chiefs, besides Florian Geyer von Geyersberg, have now to be named more fully: Wendel Hipler, Hans Berlin, and Friedrich Weigand, as men of mark, of ability, and of patriotic earnestness. Hipler, Berlin, and Weigand held quite moderate views. Berlin was the trusty man of the town-council of Heilbronn. Weigand had been an official in the employ of the Archbishop and Prince Elector of Mainz. Though commoners by birth, they wished to assign to the nobility a position—if I may make a comparison—similar to the one obtained by the English aristocracy through the Revolution of 1688. They would maintain the princes under the King-Emperor, nay, even leave those bishops who were friendly to the Reformed creed, in the possession of their territorial power. Again, the nobility were to be indemnified for any losses arising from peasant emancipation. The indemnification was to be either by payment in money; or by handing over to the nobles a portion of the secularized clerical domains; or by conferring Imperial judgeships upon the landed aristocracy. Florian Geyer, albeit a nobleman by origin, held more Radical views. At the same time, he was a statesman of a very practical character—a true friend of the people; brave as a lion, yet full of humane feeling; averse to the low cruelty which had been nourished in the hearts of the degraded victims of tyranny, and which sometimes broke forth

into the worst acts through the mad instigations of a female fury, called the 'Black Hofmännin.'

There is no story more pathetic in this rising than that of the battle-deeds and the death of Florian Geyer, the Captain of the Black Legion. We are told how, after a heroic struggle near Würzburg, he was driven with his valorous band into the castle of Ingolstadt, when the enemy, throwing bundles of burning straw and boxes of gun-powder into the fort, stormed it, and a horrible hand-to-hand fight followed; how Florian once more fought his way through, hastening by his ancestral castle, as a fugitive—the friend of the people frowned upon by the history of his own forefathers; how he was once more surprised and attacked by his own young brother-in-law, Wilhelm von Grumbach; and how he died fighting, with a heart full of love for his fatherland and for the people's rights. Well may Zimmermann, in the work he dedicated to the distinguished historian Schlosser, say:—'The time will come when, all over the soil of free Germany, the father will tell his sons and his grandsons of those who watered with their blood the Tree of Liberty, in whose shade the peasant and the citizen will live a nobler, a worthier existence. Then also they will speak of, and praise, the deeds of Florian Geyer, the Captain of the Black Legion.'

Yet, to that truly noble champion of the political, religious, and social Reformation cause, no monument has been erected until now.

Many pitched battles were fought in the South, which I must leave unnamed; and I can speak but in a few words of the course of the tragedy in the North. There, Thomas Münzer, who had gradually become estranged from Luther, both on the religious and the political question, was the leading mind. A few years before the Revolution, this fiery preacher of the Evangelical faith had sought contact, at Prague, with the Hussites, and issued there his treatise *Against the Papists*. He afterwards declared also against what he called the 'servile, half and half manner' of Reformers who 'worship the letter' of the Scripture. Perhaps Münzer may best be described as a Christian Democrat, with the soul of a

Puritan, the temper of a Republican Leveller, and a dash of the character of Calvin; yet, in spite of his apparent mysticism, an advanced thinker on not a few doctrinal points. There was much of the apocalyptic prophet in his eloquence. Nevertheless, there are strong indications, in his remarkable writings, of his having inclined towards a philosophical Deism, if not Pantheism. It is better to state these contradictions than to attempt resolving them into a unity of character. In his enthusiastic manifestoes he liked to sign in this way: 'Thomas Münzer, with the Sword of Gideon.'

The town of Mühlhausen, in Thuringia, and the neighbouring country, had been practically brought under his sway even before the Revolution began. Ere some other leaders thought of it, he seems to have looked forward to the necessity of a trial of strength between the popular forces and the governing classes. In view of these events, he had ordered the bells of the secularized cloisters to be melted down for the gun-foundry. 'Forge away'—he used to say—'on the anvil of Nimrod!' In revolutionary annals there are few appeals of a more passionate, more flame-breathing tone than his. They mostly wind up with such words:—'On! on! on! On, while the fire is burning! Give the fire no time to go out, the sword no time to cool! Be not afraid of numbers! It is not *your* battle, but the battle of the Lord; it is *He* who fights—not you! Amen.'

For all that, Münzer had been prematurely forced into the actual armed rising by the hasty act of one of his associates. Then, the battle in which his army was defeated, had been suddenly begun by the princely troops with the customary violation of the truce. Five thousand peasants fell on that occasion. Victors and vanquished, crowded together pell-mell in a terrible death-grapple, entered the town's gates at the same time. The scenes of horror which followed baffle description. Münzer, detected after his escape in a place of refuge, was tortured—tortured in the presence of princes, one of whom fiendishly asked him:—'Well, Münzer! how doest thou feel now?'

Together with the heads of twenty-four minor chiefs, that

of Münzer fell under the executioner's axe. Whilst awaiting death, chained to a waggon, he fearlessly addressed the princes assembled, entreating them to take pity upon the poor suffering people, and to lay to heart the lessons contained in Samuel and the Books of the Kings. With a wish that no further revolt or bloodshed might occur, and that his disconsolate young wife* should be cared for, he died—not a coward, as royalist calumniators have tried to make him out, but, with all his mystic exaggerations, a pure-hearted martyr of the People's cause.

And Luther, the miner's son, whose forefathers, as he himself proudly said, were peasants; Luther, great champion of the popular cause, as at first he had been, but angered at the procedures of more advanced Reformers; personally enraged by having been brutally insulted at Orlamünde, where the mob, regarding him as a trimmer, had thrown stones at him—Luther went utterly astray in the life-and-death crisis of the political and social Revolution. Already in August, 1524, he had denounced Münzer, in a public letter addressed to the Princes in Saxony, as 'one who will not hear of the doctrine of Christ, but professes to have direct inspiration from God.' He calls Münzer 'Satan,' a 'Spirit of Disturbance,' a 'Spirit of World-Destruction' (*Weltfressergeist*). He twits him with breaking cloisters open and burning images of saints. Yet he adds:—'I would esteem that more highly if the Spirit of Altstädt were to go to Dresden, or Berlin, or Ingolstadt, to storm cloisters and burn saints' images there.'

So, in principle, Luther was not averse to the procedure where he thought it necessary for the success of the movement. However, he advised the Saxon princes not to interfere with any preaching of Münzer, but only to ban him and his adherents from the country if they rose with arms in their hands.

On May 5, 1525, the Prince Elector Frederick the Wise died.

* After Münzer's defeat, she had been the object of a shameless, though not violent, attempt—unmentionable in its details—on the part of one of the victorious nobles.

He had never been a thorough, although he was a useful, supporter of the Reformation. His successor espoused it more earnestly. *This became the turning-point for Luther.* More vehemently than ever, he now, with his stormy character, threw the weight of his influence into the balance against the Revolution.

We know that once, when hunting, Luther found a young hare in a furrow, all a-trembling. He took it up, put it in his sleeve, but it fell out again; and the dogs worried and tore the leveret to pieces—‘at which,’ he says, ‘I was much aggrieved.’ Hunting had no longer any charm for him. But what was his advice as to how the peasants should be dealt with? For the sake of his great name and great services, one would wish those passages could be blotted out from memory for ever. One feels it almost like a wound to repeat his own words; but I am bound to give a truthful account. These were his counsels, as contained in his pamphlet, ‘Against the Peasant Robbers and Murderers:’—

‘I think there are no devils any more in Hell; they have all entered the peasants. Any one killed on the side of the authorities will be a righteous martyr before God. Whoever falls on the peasant’s side is an eternal brand of Hell. Therefore, let them be overthrown, strangled, stabbed, secretly or publicly, by whomsoever able to do it; for there is nothing more poisonous, more pernicious, more devilish, than a rebel. It is as if a mad dog were to be killed right away. If thou doest not kill him, he will kill thee. Nor is this a fit occasion for patience and pity; this is a time of the sword and of wrath, and not the time of mercy. Aye, dear lords, aid here! help there! come thither to the rescue of the sufferers! Strike, slay, strangle, all you that can! If thou lovest thy life in the affray, a blessing upon thee: thou art saved thereby. A more blissful death thou canst not have.’

In a letter sent a few days afterwards to Dr. Rühel, he again wrote:—

‘The wise man says: *cibus, onus et virgam asino.* For a peasant the right food is oat-straw. They won’t listen to the word, and are mad; so they must hear the *virgam*—that is, the

gun. Let us pray for them that they may obey. If they do not, have no pity. Let the guns whistle into them; or else their wickedness will grow a thousandfold worse.'

Would that there had been then a little of the feeling in him for wronged fellow-men, which he once showed to the poor, hunted leveret!

Luther was much attacked, for these fierce writings of his, by humane men of good position, and had to defend himself in a letter to Kaspar Müller, the Chancellor of Mansfield. With his characteristic obstinacy he repeated his harsh counsels, whilst trying to explain that he had not wished for an indiscriminate slaughter. But he also attacked now once more the 'raging, furious, mad tyrants who, even after the battle, could not be satiated with the spilling of ever so much blood.' He called nobles, like the one who had tried to assault Münzer's wife, 'mere beasts.' He went on:—'I have been in fear in both ways. If the peasants had had the mastery, the Devil would have become Abbot. But if such tyrants were to become masters, his Mother would become Abbess.' Later on, when Dr. Karlstadt, the eminent reformer, sent a book to defend himself against the charge of having been a prime mover of the Revolution, Luther wrote in his answer that, 'from sheer wrath (of the victors), both guilty and innocent were said to have been executed without being heard or convicted.' He added:—'And I apprehend, the cowardly tyrants who formerly stood in fear of the rustling of a leaf, have now become so bold that they will go on with their wantonness, so that God may throw them, too, to the ground in due time.'

There are several other utterances of Luther, of this somewhat contradictory kind. The Revolution, in fact, though beaten down in 1525, and apparently stifled in blood, again showed convulsive signs of life after a while. Not a few men, therefore, and Luther himself, assumed the possibility of a fresh great outbreak, and perhaps even of a final triumph of the popular cause. Yet, years afterwards, he, in his *Table Talk*, once more said:—'Preachers are the greatest man-slayers; for they exhort the authorities to do their duty by punishing the wicked. I, Martin Luther, have slain all the peasants in the

Rebellion; for I have urged their being slain. All their blood is on my head. But I throw it upon the Lord, our God; He has ordained me thus to speak. For, the devils and the wicked people also go in for killing; but their's is not the right!

Let us turn away from this sorrowful sight. How much more satisfaction do we feel when looking upon the figure of Huldreich Zwingli, the Reformer of German Switzerland—a man certainly less gifted than Luther, and not so towering among his contemporaries, but in doctrinal matters of a more advanced turn of mind—who, with halberd in hand, rode into the battle, and met with his death, like an Arnold Winkelried of the Reformation. To Zwingli, too, a statue has been erected, not long ago, at Zurich; the striking work being that of the Viennese sculptor, Heinrich Natter, who recently also produced the excellent monument of Walther von der Vogelweide at Bozen.

VI.

I will not unroll in detail the picture of the nameless horrors which followed the defeat of the Revolution of 1525: the roasting alive of men driven at a chain round the stake, whilst nobles sat drinking, to enjoy the spectacle; the destruction of many villages and towns by fire; the wholesale acts of revenge by beheading and hanging; the flight into exile of men of note and high culture.

Princely orgies of blood, in many cases intensified by Romanist vindictiveness, everywhere marked the downfall of the rising. Germany was covered with scaffolds, gibbets, and flaming piles. Within the territory of the Swabian League alone, more than 10,000 prisoners were executed; among them, a number of town-councillors. Against all Reformed clergymen who had joined the insurrection—and there were many of that class involved in it—the most sanguinary severity was used. A hundred thousand men are reckoned, altogether, to have found their death in these struggles. A great many people sought safety abroad, especially in free Switzerland. Among them was Karlstadt, a religious Reformer of the advanced school, and therefore alienated from his former Univer-

sity colleague, Luther, but nobly shielded by this foremost chief of the theological Reformation from old friendship, when coming to Wittenberg as a fugitive.

Local risings still occurred afresh in Swabia, in the Tyrol, and in the Salzburg district, after the defeat of the Revolution in Thuringia, Franconia, and on the Neckar. The insurgents of Upper Swabia were only vanquished through the bribing of some of their captains who had formerly served in the armies of the Lord High Steward of the Empire, and of the famous Imperial Field-Marshal, Georg von Frundsberg. It was the latter who, at the Diet of Worms, had tapped Luther on the shoulder in a friendly way, giving him words of encouragement. Remarkably enough, a number of Frundsberg's ex-officers afterwards joined the revolutionary movement. But when things began to look unpromising, these peasants' captains allowed themselves to be bribed. They wetted the powder and spiked the guns. The victory of the princely army thus became easy. All these facts, however, go far to show how much intermixed various classes of men were in this vast rising, and how closely matters for a while trembled in the balance.

In 1526, Michael Geissmayer planned a new insurrection in southern Germany. Formerly an episcopal Chancellor, and afterwards a powerful chief of the popular movement in the Tyrol and in the Alpine lands of Salzburg, he is declared by one of the best German historians to have been 'not less great as a statesman--witness his admirable projects of Reform, which we still possess--than as an army-leader.' He died through being secretly stabbed in bed by the daggers of Spanish bravoës whom the Catholic bishop of Brixen had hired.

Henceforth the Reformation became merely a religious one. It remained political only in so far as those princes who had gone over to it, used it as a means of establishing their separate sovereignty against both the Kaiser and the Pope. Luther's un-German doctrine, which had not been known before his time, that all existing Government is by 'right divine,' was interpreted by the minor princes as equivalent to a doctrine of

monarchical irresponsibility. Nevertheless, the majority of the people still remained faithful to the Reformation even in this stage, though it now carried with it the seeds of national disintegration, owing to princes who had hitherto been rather officials of the Empire, setting up as right divine rulers, independent both of the people and of the Kaiser.

Unspeakable misery came over Germany for centuries, in consequence of these events. Nevertheless, it would be unjust to deny the great services rendered by Luther to intellectual progress and to national independence. Nor can it be said that the upheaval of 1524-25 remained fruitless, notwithstanding its defeat. More than a thousand cloisters and feudal robbers' nests (for such they were, according to impartial contemporary history) had been laid low during the gigantic turmoil. A large number of these Castles of Laziness, Corruption, and Iniquity were never rebuilt. And though in the later Thirty Years' War (1612-48), which was the unfortunate result and inevitable consequence of the failure of the previous Revolution, Germany was desolated, as no country has ever been, through the loss of two-thirds of her population and the destruction of her national prosperity, the lines laid down for Peasant Emancipation during this religious, political, and social Reformation movement have never been wholly blotted out; and to-day Germany, in spite of the existence, here and there, of larger estates, has a freehold peasantry, even as France.

The day will come, I trust, when the best leaders of the Revolution of 1525 will have monuments of their own on the soil on which they shed their blood for the deliverance of the land and the people. Only when statues shall be raised to them, as they have been raised to Luther, to Hutten, and to Sickingen, can it be truly asserted that the Reformation has been fully commemorated in brass and stone.

KARL BLIND.

ART. VII.—ODD FOODS.

1. *On Diet in Relation to Age and Activity.* By Sir HENRY THOMSON. 1887.
2. *A Treatise on Food and Dietetics, Physiologically and Therapeutically considered.* Second edition. By FREDERICK W. PAVY, M.D., F.R.S.

IT is not our intention to give our readers information relating to the dietetic properties of familiar foods, still less to weary them with tables showing their composition, cost, and alimentary value. We shall content ourselves with placing before them many facts relating to rare foods, which will have the recommendation of novelty, although at the same time we do not advise them to try these culinary eccentricities at their own tables, much less to introduce them into general favour.

Popular prejudices as to what constitutes wholesome and useful food continue singularly strong. Speaking generally, the dearer an article the more highly it is esteemed, and the more useful it is thought. Surely in these days of cookery exhibitions and food lectures such crass ignorance is unpardonable. The money cost is regulated mainly by the difficulty and expense of procuring the food in question, and seldom bears any relation to its dietetic value, so that it is not an exaggeration to say that sixpence laid out in one way will sometimes purchase more solid nutriment than a sovereign in another. All the same public opinion is being better guided, and radical changes are taking place, which cannot fail in the long run, to affect the demand for certain familiar foods. There has, for example, been a salutary enlightenment in the estimation in which alcoholic beverages are held, and they have been ousted from their time-honoured position. The change coming over the educated, or rather the medical mind, respecting them, is shown in the following passage from a recent number of the *British Medical Journal*. We do not know the author, but whoever he be, he would scarcely have escaped lynching in those not very remote days when Insurance Companies hesitated to

accept the proposals of abstainers. As the *British Medical Journal* does not advocate total abstinence, the following lines are especially significant, and may be taken as proving what scientific observers have been compelled to admit, sometimes in spite of themselves :—

‘ We take it as conclusively proved that alcohol is not a necessary food, and that the most perfect physical and intellectual vigour is compatible with rigid total abstinence. We may go a step further, and confidently assert that people in perfect health are, as a rule, better without alcohol. The evils of intemperance are manifest ; the evils of total abstinence are unproved and improbable. We can affirm with confidence that while alcohol possesses a certain and considerable medical value, its therapeutic range is gradually becoming more circumscribed. Time was when it was the first suggestion and the last resort of the distressed practitioner : we are wiser now, less confident in its virtues, less ready to trust so potent a weapon to hands that may employ it in self-destruction. Alcohol should be rigidly prohibited in hysteria, and in all forms of quasi-hysterical debility, and it should be still more strictly withheld in every case where there is an undoubted hereditary tendency to intemperance.’

The dietetic and medicinal value of pure unmixed water is still imperfectly understood. Combined with milk, or with any other substance, it loses most of its solvent properties, and must then be regarded as a more or less concentrated food. This certainly applies to many of the beverages brought to table. Sir Henry Thompson hardly goes too far when he asserts that tea, coffee and cocoa are decidedly less valuable than pure water ; while thick or thin rich soups are nothing but highly concentrated foods, and not beverages at all. We have still much to do to place water in the position it ought to hold, and perhaps nothing short of a prolonged residence in a tropical country, where good, cool water is never to be got, is required to teach our countrymen the blessing they rate so lightly in the inexhaustible supply of this wholesome beverage, which they enjoy at home.

Among many charming recent dietetic works we must speak with special praise of one by that able and entertaining writer, Sir Henry Thompson, whose own dinner parties are reputed to be among the most *recherchés* in town. May we venture to say that he advocates dietetic simplicity of a type that might do for baronets and wealthy squires, and describes entertainments which

a City Alderman would not despise. But let us not be unjust. Sir Henry does not *recommend* excess, and he warmly praises self-restraint, while much of his advice as to Dietetics is excellent; would that we as a nation were only wise enough to take it to heart. 'He thinks that our forefathers did not sufficiently consider this great subject. Like Mr. Squeers, they have been, he admits, very particular of our morals. He sees a wise and lofty purpose in the laws they have framed for the regulation of human conduct and the satisfaction of the natural cravings of religious emotions. But those other cravings equally common to human nature, those grosser emotions, cravings of the physical body, they have disregarded. No doubt, he says, there has long been some practical acknowledgment, on the part of a few educated persons, of the simple fact that a man's temper, and consequently most of his actions, depend upon such an alternative as whether he habitually digests well or ill; whether the meals, which he eats, are properly converted into healthy material, suitable for the ceaseless work of building up both muscle and brain; or, whether, unhealthy products constantly pollute the course of nutritive supply. But the truth of that fact has never been generally admitted to an extent at all comparable with its exceeding importance. Herein were our ancestors unwise. The relation between food and virtue, Sir Henry maintains, as did Pythagoras before him, is very close relation. His view of this relationship is not the view of Pythagoras, who, as Malvolio knew, bade man not to kill so much as a woodcock lest haply he might dispossess the soul of his grandam.'

What is precept worth, or practice either? How many admire thrift, and praise simplicity of diet, though practising them not, and satisfy their easy consciences with repeating moral truths, but never get beyond that first easy stage. To live on sixpence a day and to earn it is an infallible cure for half the ills to which flesh is heir; but what would doctors say to it, and as for the public, how they would rebel. 'In matters of diet,' run Sir Henry's wise words, 'many persons have individual peculiarities; and while certain fixed principles exist as absolutely cardinal in the detail of their application to each man's wants, an infinity of stomach eccentricities is to be reckoned on. The old proverb

expresses the fact strongly but truly—"What is one man's meat is another man's poison." Yet nothing is more common,—and one rarely leaves a social dinner-table without observing it—than to hear some good-natured person recommending to his neighbour, with a confidence rarely found except in alliance with profound ignorance of the matter in hand, some special form of food, or drink, or system of diet, solely because the adviser happens to have found it useful to himself.' It is not only the good-natured companion of the dinner-table who errs in this way. He were an ungrateful churl who would willingly say a harsh word about our ministers of the interior, so sympathetic, so patient, so courteous, so kind! Yet it must be owned that they are, some of them, a little apt to leave out of sight the varieties of the human constitution, to take all human stomachs as framed on one fixed, primordial pattern; above all are they, as old Lessuis complained, too likely to 'bring men into a labyrinth of care in the observation, and unto perfect slavery in the endeavouring to perform what they do in the matter enjoin.' Sometimes I think they do but flatter the weaknesses of humanity, and, when they meet, salute each other as the old augurs used. There are folk who will not so much as take a pill at their own venture, and never fulfil an invitation to dinner without a visit to the doctor next morning. He cannot afford to drive such inquisitive fools from his door; and so it may be that the healing hand, like a dyer's, becomes subdued to what it works in. The answer given by his physician to Falstaff on his page's authority, is one it were hardly wise to risk to-day! This hit at the doctors is very fair and good natured; whatever wisdom they may preach and teach in public, in the consulting room they must consider the weaknesses of their clients and employers, so that their advice needs careful weighing and testing before being carried into practice.

A very entertaining writer, under the pseudonym of *A Layman*, contributed a remarkable paper to *Macmillan* a couple of years ago on the Philosophy of Diet, in which he showed wonderful ingenuity, although the subject hardly admitted of great novelty or even of freshness. He observes that—

‘An ingenious seeker after the truth not long ago published the result of his researches into the effect of tobacco and strong drink on the brain. It was a curious book, extremely amusing, and not at all so foolish as might be supposed. But some random utterances there were, and none so random as those of one abstemious student, nameless, if I remember right, but the style was much the later style of Mr. Ruskin, who violently denounced tobacco as a general curse, and refused it all virtues, on the ground that the great men of old did very well without it. “Homer sang his deathless song,” so wrote this fearful man; “Raphael painted his glorious Madonnas, Luther preached, Guttenburg printed, Columbus discovered a new world before tobacco was heard of. No rations of tobacco were served out to the heroes of Thermopylae; no cigar strung up the nerves of Socrates.”’

A Layman hardly errs when he credits the high pressure, the rapid travelling, and the pitiless competition of our age with aggravating much of the indigestion, which is the bane of modern civilised life, and which makes so much work for the fashionable physician; but over indulgence must be credited with its share. ‘Certainly,’ he continues, ‘our stomachs are more bounded than was Wolsey’s. To read the domestic annals of the close of the last and the early years of this century, brings back the Homeric tales of the strength and prowess of the heroes who warred on the plains of Troy. No man of these degenerate days could do the work our fathers did, “who gloried and drank hard”! They had, to be sure, some few points in their favour that we lack. They did not need, at least they did not use, those intermittent aids to the agreeableness of life that we seem to find so necessary. There were no brandies and sodas, no sheries and bitters, no five o’clock teas. They were content with one solid meal in the day, and they did not put that off till it was time to begin to think about bed. And I suspect, the most important point of all, they took life less hastily—not less seriously, but less hastily; their brains were not always at high pressure; they did not fritter away minds and tempers in an infinity of pursuits—pursuits of business and pursuits of pleasure. I suspect, too, tobacco may have something to say to it.’ This flattering estimate of the abstemiousness of the last century may be very true, although anyone familiar with *Harry Esmond*, the most perfect work which Thackeray ever wrote, must demur to some of the

foregoing remarks. That wonderful picture of human character does not paint our ancestors as setting their posterity a particularly good example; and if they were less troubled with ill-health, a matter on which we are not clear, at any rate on the average their lives were sixteen years shorter than ours.

Before coming to what we may regard as the more practical and entertaining part of a very curious and not sufficiently studied subject, let us for a few minutes glance at the condition of our country a couple of centuries ago, and this will be a fitting introduction to the consideration of the odd foods favoured by certain races and classes. In the seventeenth century wheat fetched fifty to sixty shillings a quarter, while a mechanic's wages, when in full work, ranged from sixpence to a shilling a day. Wheat is now hardly two-thirds as dear, while wages are at least five times as high. Of the 880,000 families of which the population of England consisted in 1685, King computed that 440,000 ate animal food twice a week, the other moiety not eating it at all, or not oftener than once a week; but the absence of animal food from the dietary would not necessarily prove that the people were ill fed, though there is a strong presumption that they were. London alone enjoyed the comfort of coal fires, while provincial towns burned wood and turf, and what that means let anyone describe who has passed a winter in the mild climate of Southern France or Northern Italy. Even in the colliery districts coal was hardly at all used, and wood was the general favourite. As for the agricultural poor, how vastly their condition has improved in the present generation a week among the Dorset and Devon peasantry would make clear. Two hundred years ago matters were incomparably worse than anything which the last half century has passed through. Wages in the seventeenth century were lower in the rural districts than in the manufacturing towns, and we have hinted how things were in the latter. In the towns the living was luxurious compared with that of the villages. To come to minor matters, the working of pit salt, one of the chief necessities of life, was hardly attempted, and the little of that mineral which was used was obtained from sea-water evaporated in shallow troughs. The salt obtained in this rude fashion gave out a most offensive odour and was dangerous to health. Still

worse, the great majority of the nation depended in winter for its meat supply on food preserved with the evil-smelling salt got from the evaporation of brine, and the consequence was scurvy and other loathsome diseases. In times of scarcity the distress of the poor was extreme, and the Government was frequently forced to institute inquiries, and to interfere with the freedom of the subject, in a manner that would now be justly resented as intolerably tyrannical and inquisitorial. The golden age of England is not to be found in the seventeenth century, nor in the eighteenth either. Surely, too, it did not exist immediately anterior to the repeal of the Corn Laws, for it was the widespread distress of the time, which compelled that wise and enlightened, but slow-moving statesman, Sir Robert Peel, to withdraw his opposition to fiscal reform, and forced him to support measures, which cost him the support of many of his followers. Froude puts the golden age of England in the early part of the sixteenth century; but would the working classes of our day exchange places with their unhappy brethren of that era? Macaulay gives a depressing picture: 'In the seventeenth century the labourer was glad to get barley, and was often forced to content himself with poorer fare.' In Harrison's Introduction to *Hollinshed*, we have an account of the state of our working population in the golden days, as Mr. Southey calls them, of good Queen Bess:

'The gentilitie,' says he, 'commonly provide themselves sufficiently of wheat for their own tables, whylst their household and poore neighbours, in some shires, are forced to content themselves with rye or barlie; yea, and in time of dearth many with bread made eyther of beanes, peason, or otes, or of altogether and some acornes among. I will not say that this extremity is oft so well to be seen in time of plentie as of dearth, but if I should, I could easily bring my trial, albeit there be much grounde eared nowe almost in everi place than hath beene of late years, yet such a price of corn continueth in each towne and market, without any just cause, that the artificer and poore labouring man is not able to reach unto it, but is driven to content himself with horse corne.'

Lord Macaulay has been falling into discredit with a certain school of thinkers, who contend that he only cared for material prosperity, and not at all for high thinking and pure living. This may be doing him great injustice; but, however that be, in any comparison of the condition of England in 1830 with that of

the middle of the sixteenth century, his authority and accuracy can scarcely be impugned. We quote the following passage from his review of Southey's *Colloquies of Society*.

'The labouring classes, however, were, according to Mr. Southey, better fed three hundred years ago than at present. We believe that he is completely in error on this point. The condition of servants in noble and wealthy families and of scholars at the Universities must surely have been better in those times than that of day labourers, and we are sure that it was not better than that of our present workhouse paupers. From the household book of the Northumberland family we find that in one of the greatest establishments of the kingdom the servants lived very much as common sailors live now. In the reign of Edward VI. the state of the students at Cambridge is described to us, on the very best authority, as most wretched. Many of them dined on pottage made of a farthing's worth of beef, with a little salt and oatmeal, and literally nothing else. This account we have from a contemporary Master of St. John's; our parish poor now eat wheaten bread.'

It is the glory of our age that it is making the lives of the poor easier and happier, and bringing within their reach the comforts, nay the luxuries of two generations ago. Had the poor a better knowledge of cooking and some insight into the properties of food they might, in view of the low prices now obtaining, live, in the majority of cases, comfortably and well. Unfortunately that is not the case, and as long as herrings are set on fire and allowed to flare for a couple of minutes to prepare them for the table, and vegetables are served up half cooked, there is pressing room for improvement. Still movement is taking place, and on the whole it is in the right direction. But to turn from such reflections to the more homely part of our subject.

That 'what is one man's poison is another's food,' is a trite saying, but conveys volumes: it practically signifies that all the articles of diet used in different parts of the world are harmless; nay, positively nutritious and wholesome. The dishes, which Englishmen relish and fancy man's proper food, may be an abomination to persons of a different race and creed; and the food eaten with pleasure in other lands may often fill us with disgust. Eating and drinking are, as Sir Henry Thompson so felicitously says, mainly matters of custom, and no rule can be framed that is absolutely right, and none entirely wrong. Man's

natural food,—what is it but the diet which chance, or custom, or necessity places within his reach. One man eats fish, another flesh, a third fowl, a fourth fruit, and all thrive, showing the vastness of the resources which man commands, and his ready adaptability to the most varying circumstances. As far as is known, no kind of bird is absolutely unwholesome; none at least is poisonous. Few four-footed animals are uneatable, and it is perhaps only among fishes and vegetables that we find actual poisons. There are certain fishes, principally inhabitants of tropical seas, that at all seasons, when eaten, destroy human life: other species are poisonous only at certain seasons, and, still more extraordinary, individuals of some species are dangerous, while others are wholesome. As far as fish are concerned, it is not easy to give a satisfactory explanation: the health of the fish at the time of its capture, the food on which it had been feeding, or some idiosyncrasy of the eater may be important factors in the result. When it comes to vegetable products, we can then generally isolate the chemical principle that causes death. Amongst those terrible secrets of nature, which we shall probably never clear up, are the objects gained by giving strychnine, nicotine, morphia, atropine and many other alkaloids properties so deadly that a few grains destroy life. Why does an infinitesimal dose of *nux vomica* convulse the frame of the strongest man, and bring his life to an almost instantaneous close, and with such indescribable agony and awful muscular contractions, that no death more full of horrors can be conceived? It ought to be a serious offence to put any animal to death with an agent that destroys life with the most excruciating torture. Again, why is prussic acid so pleasant to the smell, so immediately fatal when swallowed? Shall we ever know?

Seaweed is eaten on the coasts of Scotland and of Ireland in vast quantities, and though unpalatable and flavourless, is at times the chief food of some of the poorest. When dry it is richer than oatmeal or Indian corn in nitrogenous constituents, and takes rank among the most nutritious of vegetable foods. Laver is an exception to the low estimation in which seaweed is held, and is a favourite condiment. We have known it eaten in large quantities in North Devon, and with much relish. To

prepare seaweed for the table, it should be steeped in water to get rid of the salt with which it is impregnated, and a little carbonate of soda removes the bitter taste which, to some palates, is most disagreeable. It should then be stewed in milk or water till mucilaginous, and is best flavoured with vinegar or pepper. Under the name of *marine sauces*, laver was at one time esteemed a great delicacy in London. Some lichens are used in the Arctic regions, and a Swedish Professor, Stanberg, has recently drawn attention to their nutritive properties. Iceland moss, when freed from its bitter taste, and mixed with rye meal, is said to make a cheap and nutritious bread, but one of no importance to Britain in these days of low priced flour, when the poorest can get a sufficiency of better food. Fungi are almost everywhere largely eaten, though in England less attention is paid to them than they deserve, and few kinds appear at table. The common field agaric everyone knows, but perhaps the most excellent sort is the beautiful *Lactarius Deliciosus*, which, unfortunately, is not, like the *Agaricus Campestris*, cultivated, and so the market is dependent upon the uncertain and small supplies which chance or good fortune places within the grasp of the mushroom gatherer. In all probability, however, no unsurmountable difficulties exist in the way of cultivating many species of fungi, and distressed agriculturalists might find less promising outlets for their energies. Fungi, like human beings, give off carbonic acid, and not oxygen, as do other vegetables. This peculiarity is probably due to the absence of green colouring matters. A curious error is to suppose that *fungi* are eatable and *toadstools* poisonous: no such line of demarcation exists, nor, strictly speaking, has the name toadstool any precise meaning. Very many fungi are edible, and the common agaric usually eaten in England is not the most palatable and wholesome. Few foods are more savoury, and none are greater favourites, than well cooked fungi, and the souls of vegetarians yearn for them. They have the reputation of being very nutritious, but physiologists contend that this is an error, and that a given weight is not as valuable as from the chemical composition of fungi it ought to be. This must not be pressed to prove that mushrooms are not useful food adjuncts, and as flavouring

ingredients they have few superiors. Far greater use of them ought to be encouraged, and the supply should be increased twenty fold, and in this way a most valuable industry might be developed, or, more correctly, created. A physician, whom we met at the Woolhope Fungus Dinner at Hereford, told us that twenty years ago he had freely experimented on fungi, and eaten many suspicious species with impunity. When the smell was pleasant he tasted the raw mushroom and then fried half a one. He rarely suffered temporarily, never permanently, and he believed that most fungi could be eaten with safety. We in England sometimes cultivate the common field mushroom, the *Agaricus Campestris*, but there we stop, although that distinguished Mycologist, Dr. Cooke of Kew, tells us that probably many other species could be as easily cultivated, and that much remains to be learnt regarding the matter. We know from many experiments that the *Lactarius Deliciosus* and some of the *Agarici Proceri* are excellent; they are in places fairly abundant, and are equal, perhaps superior, to the sorts held in high favour by the English public.

The most repulsive food which human beings could eat is man. Fortunately, cannibalism, although once very general, is now mainly confined to the most degraded tribes of the South Sea Islands, and to some districts of Australia and Central Africa. Professor Flower, in one of his charming lectures at the London Institution, has recently dealt with Pygmies, more particularly with the fast disappearing Andaman Islanders, and his description of their culinary dainties must have amused his readers. These curious savages, from their small size and remarkable ethnological peculiarities, are deeply interesting to anthropologists. They have been accused of cannibalism, but, according to Professor Flower, unjustly—although they sometimes eat their food raw. Their diet is varied enough, though presenting no peculiar features, and consists of wild swine, birds, turtle, wild fruits, roots and seeds, the larvae of insects, and honey. Other observers credit them, we believe, with a partiality for castor oil, which, it is said, they gladly accept in payment of certain small services, and which we presume does not act upon them in its usual fashion. Froude in

one place remarks that 'The African Obeah—the worship of serpents, and trees, and stones—after smouldering in all the West Indies in the form of witchcraft and poisoning, had broken out in Hayti in all its old hideousness. Children were sacrificed as in the old days of Moloch, and were devoured with horrid ceremony; salted limbs were preserved and sold for the benefit of those who were unable to attend the full solemnities.' But nearer home cannibalism had some supporters. Lindsay of Pitscottie relates that a man, his wife, and family were burnt to death, on the east coast of Scotland, for eating children, whom they had stolen; and during the French Revolution the heart of the unfortunate Princess Lamballe was actually torn out of her body by one of the yelling savages near, taken to a restaurant, and there cooked and eaten. Human flesh is said not to be unpalatable, and this is confirmed by the horrible narrative given by Lindsay: he mentions that as one of the girls was being taken to execution, she exclaimed, 'Wherefore chide ye with me, as if I had committed an unworthy act? Give me credence and trow me, if ye had experience of eating men and women's flesh ye would think it so delicious that ye would never forbear it again.' The Tannese of our own day distribute human flesh in little bits to their friends as delicious morsels, and say that the flesh of a black man is preferable to that of a white one, for the latter tastes salt: other cannibals hold the same. The mild and gentle Caribs were cannibals, but of a peculiar kind. Human flesh, according to Pere Labat, who visited them late in the seventeenth century, 'was not their ordinary food, but they boucanned or dried the limbs of distinguished enemies, whom they had killed in battle, and then handed them round to be gnawed at special festivals.' A certain religious superstition generally seems to underlie cannibalism, and perhaps the Maoris ate their enemies for other reasons than adding to their food supplies, although the scarcity of animal food in their islands has been thought to be a sort of excuse. We have recently noticed, however, that an able writer argues that cannibalism is not, after all, dying out so quickly nor so generally as is commonly supposed.

Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, in an excellent paper on 'The Lowlands of Moray' gives much valuable information respecting

the rabbit. Except along the sea-board, rabbits were so scarce, that, when in 1830, Lord Kintore introduced fox-hunting in Banff, on the borders of Aberdeen, his keepers used to go all over the country carrying rabbits, which they dropped in couples, in order to provide tempting diet for the foxes! 'Indeed, in these days of Ground Game Acts,' she continues, 'it seems difficult to realise that less than a century has elapsed since the British Parliament found it necessary to pass a special Act (A.D. 1792) for the "Protection of Rabbits" throughout the Kingdom.' And now these mischievous though pretty little rodents, whose gambols, near their favourite coverts, in the sunny evenings of May and June, greatly increase the pleasures of country rambles, are everywhere so plentiful that an apology is almost needed when one is brought to table, and many fastidious gourmets resent being expected to partake of what they affect to regard as little better than vermin. And yet what is nicer to the flesh eater—that abomination of the vegetarian—than a well roasted, tender, young rabbit, served up with delicious gravy and well cooked vegetables? Whatever may be the case in England, where the hare is threatened with speedy extinction, and even the rabbit is at last in many districts becoming less plentiful than it was a very few years ago, some other countries are more fortunate, and do not report any diminution in the abundance and variety of their game. For example, sportsmen will be interested with the following figures showing that Austria is still the finest sporting country of Western Europe. The number of preserves in Austria, not counting those of Hungary, is 15,764, and on these in 1887, there were shot 32 bears, 113 wolves, 24 lynxes, 9,490 stags, 60,252 roebucks, 7,709 chamois, 2,998 wild boars, 26,411 foxes, 9,929 polecats, 1,055 otters, 2,672 badgers, 333 marmots, and 1,439,134 hares! Wild rabbits are scarce in Austria, and are not included in the general massacre, although 27,687 were shot in Bohemia, where warrens are most plentiful. When we have exterminated the British hare, we shall probably draw an abundant supply from Central Europe, where for many a year no scarcity is likely to be felt, and no special precautions for its preservation will be required.

The late Bronson Alcot, father of the American authoress, was

a vegetarian, and criticised meat eaters unmercifully. To one of them he once declared that the eater of mutton became a sheep, and the eater of pork a hog. 'And is it not also true,' interposed a friend who humourously turned the tables upon him, 'that eaters of vegetables become small potatoes?' Vegetarianism can however be both cheap, agreeable, and varied, although the committee on the Army Estimates has just stated in its final report, that the Duke of Cambridge and other distinguished military authorities have, in their evidence before that committee, expressed a strong opinion that soldiers are not allowed enough meat, and that every man's daily ration should be increased from three quarters of a pound to one pound. This would mean an addition of £250,000 to the annual outlay on our army. Some knowledge of foods, more particularly of the unfortunate pulses, held so cheap by Burton in the *Anatomie of Melancholy*, would enable the dietary to be reconstructed and put on a satisfactory footing without any increased expenditure. Colonel Burnett, Commanding Officer of the First Battalion of the Royal Irish Rifles, has just published a most interesting account of the reforms which he has made in the rations of his men, and which, without any increase of cost, have greatly added to the comfort of his battalion. He has made more use of those savoury dishes in which the soul of the thrifty foreign housewife rejoices: for instance, he has had the bones removed from the meat, crushed and simmered for many hours, adding large quantities of vegetables—peas, lentils, and carrots among others. He has once more shown the value of cheap foods, such as herrings, as a relish, and he has fed his men more rationally and better, and at less money cost. We are glad to see that the Duke of Cambridge has warmly commended Colonel Burnett, and has ordered copies of his report to be forwarded to all other Commanding Officers for their guidance and instruction.

The following royal bills of fare show the marked contrast between 1767 and 1888, and are worthy of more than passing attention. The first was found among the papers preserved at Alnwick Castle, and has been recently published in the Percy Family History. It is marked 'Windsor, February 6th, 1767.'—Pottage of Rice. Roasted pullets. Mutton collops. Leg of

Pork roasted and Potatoes. Hare roasted. A Guinea fowl roasted. Spinnage and Sweatbreads. A Pippin Tart. Oysters in Scollops. Macaroni Sweet. Beef, cold and collared. Boar's Head.' Altogether an ample and sufficiently varied *menu*. The second is the *menu* of the entertainment given by the Emperor of Austria, at Innsbruck, when our Queen lunched with him, on her way from Florence to Berlin. It shows the change of names, although it may not be superior in other respects:—Consommé Royal. Fruites de rivière au bleu; Sauce Hollandaise. Filet de boeuf à l'Impératrice; Asperges en branches. Poulard de Styrie. Salade à la Française. Compotes.'

To return to odd foods. The lion is eaten by some African races, although its flesh is in small favour with them, while the Zulus find carrion so much to their liking that, according to Dr. Colenso, they apply to food teeming with large colonies of grubs, the comprehensive word 'uborni,' which signifies, in their uncouth jargon, 'great happiness.' David Livingstone tells us that the aboriginal Australians and the Hottentots prefer the intestines of animals, and he adds that 'it is curious that this is the part which wild animals always begin with, and that it is the first choice of our men.' The hippopotamus is another favourite meat of the Africans, when they can catch it; its flesh when young is tender and palatable, but it becomes very coarse and unpleasant with advancing years. The Abyssinians find the rhinoceros much to their liking; so they do the elephant, which is also eaten in Sumatra. Dr. Livingstone speaks of elephant's foot as excellent. 'We had the foot cooked for breakfast next morning, and found it delicious. It is a whitish mass, slightly gelatinous and sweet like marrow. A long march to prevent biliousness is a wise precaution after a feast on elephant's foot. Elephant's tongue and trunk are also good, and after long simmering much resemble the humps of a buffalo and the tongue of an ox, but all the other meat is tough, and from its peculiar flavour only to be eaten by a hungry man.' The elephants eaten during the Siege of Paris were said to be a great success, and the liver was pronounced finer than that of any goose or duck, while some steaks cut off Chunee, the elephant

shot at Exeter Change, on being cooked were described as pleasant meat.

The bison, once so plentiful in America, but now almost extinct, may be regarded as the representative of the British ox. Probably no one, who, at the American Exhibition, three years ago, saw a few shaggy survivors of the countless millions that so recently roamed over the American plains, was particularly impressed by their appearance. Small, dark, uncouth, and with very short legs, they bore little resemblance to the huge monsters whom Cooper described and Catlin depicted, but we need hardly observe that persons, who knew the bison as he is, admitted that the specimens, which were one of the chief attractions of the American Exhibition, were thoroughly representative. The coarse flavour and great toughness of bison flesh are not pleasant to the civilised palate, and the meat cannot be called a luxury, though the hump and the tongue are superior to the remainder of the carcase. The author of an excellent work on America, Charles Augustus Murray, while not caring for bison meat in general, adds that the udder of a young cow is a most exquisite dish, and when well cooked—that secret of all good cooking—is extremely sweet and delicate. Mr. Murray remarks, however, that more than once, after being without food or drink for forty-eight hours, he was literally mad, and in spite of Eton traditions he threw aside the last vestige of refinement, and tearing open some buffalo bull or cow, which had fallen a victim to his rifle, devoured large pieces of the liver hot and reeking with blood. No cooking was necessary, and he continues that, although almost ashamed to say so, he never made a more delicious meal, nor, on one occasion, did he stop till nearly the whole of the large liver had been swallowed. Savages always have preferred and always will prefer quantity to quality, and the huge lumps of raw meat, sometimes burnt on one side and almost cold on the other, which are the chief features of an Indian banquet, would not tempt our fastidious appetites. Mr. Murray was naturally surprised to see how early they are taught to be gluttons:—

‘In our tent was a little girl, nearly two years old, so dreadfully affected by the whooping-cough, that it frequently caused me to be awake half the night, and I hourly expected it to break a blood-vessel and die. This poor

little wretch's temper was as bad, and as badly nursed, as her health ; she governed the whole tent, and I cannot conceive how she survived a week, considering that her mother and aunts used all the means in their power to kill her, short of a lethal weapon. I have seen her in the course of one morning, she being only two years old, eat a good bowl of half-boiled maize, then enough *green* grapes and plums to give cholera to a bargeman, then a large hunch of buffalo meat nearly raw, in the midst of which she stopped, and began to cry and scream for *what* I knew not, but her mother knew better, and the poor woman was obliged to open her blanket and suckle the young screamer, who still held the half-eaten slice of buffalo meat in her hand. Even the hints that kindly nature gave were lost upon them, for after she had rejected the unripe fruit, with evident proof of her aversion too disagreeable for me to forget, within ten minutes I saw the child again taking another, and at least as large a dose, of the same composition. So much for infant diet among the Pawnees.'

Savages, when they have the chance, eat to repletion, although when they cannot get food they bear the pangs of hunger with great composure, like the Grub Street hack, who could gorge or starve with equal fortitude, but could not be moderate. Johnson's insatiable appetite for fish sauce and veal pies would have made him at home among these Western savages. Great allowance must nevertheless be made for people who are often for weeks at a time without regular and sufficient supplies ; when an opportunity of satisfying the appetite offers itself it is not allowed to pass, and the disgusting voracity of Indian warriors proceeds from much the same cause that made Johnson at table a particularly objectionable neighbour, for like a famished wild beast, he tore his food, with the veins swelling on his forehead and the perspiration streaming down his face. The poetry and glamour of savage life vanish as soon as the curtain of romance is lifted from it ; it is only in civilised circles that abundance can be used without being abused. The exploits of members of English Friendly Societies on one of their annual feast days have always seemed to us to show how very thin is the veneer of civilisation in some classes in our own country. We once overheard a conversation in which one of these worthies was complaining that a club doctor had refused to pass him. 'Said I wasn't strong!' thundered the ill-used Staffordshire mechanic ; 'why I've eaten a whole leg of mutton at one sitting ! Who says I'm not strong ? Fit for any club.' Such an individual

would consume anything set before him. He would not be unworthy to take his place among the low caste inhabitants of India, who would not find fault with the bison, as they not only relish the dog, the cat, and the rat, which some other nations, farther advanced in civilisation, do not despise, but they consider the fox, the wolf, the leopard, and the jackal, savoury.

What constitutes good manners at table? On this point let Mr. Murray give us a lesson—

‘I had been lucky enough to kill a fawn, the only deer seen since we left the fort, which furnished us with a good supper and no more, for never did I see anything equal to the appetite of our Indian—ribs, head, shoulders, disappeared one after the other. He quietly ate everything placed before or near him without the slightest symptom of diminished power, but I was not then aware of the incredible capacity of Indians, or of their notion that it is impolite to decline proffered food under all circumstances whatsoever.’

The same charming writer gives a very amusing account of a great medicine-feast of powerful Pawnee chiefs, to which he had the signal honour of being invited. As usual on such occasions it consisted of only one kind of food. Fifty guests were expected to empty an enormous cauldron of maize, which was boiling on a fire before the tent. Mr. Murray had often admired at other feasts the capacity and perseverance of hungry Indians, but never before had he witnessed such a trial of speed as the present. On ordinary occasions Pawnee etiquette allows the invited guests, when they have eaten as much as they can, to stop, but the present feast proceeded on a different rule; it was *de rigueur* that every thing must be eaten on the spot, and be devoured as quickly as possible, those who were last in the race being laughed at and lightly esteemed. The guests were arranged in pairs, and to each pair was assigned a three-quart bowl of boiled maize, that from protracted simmering had acquired a glue-like consistency. This sticky mass was to be swallowed without water or milk, or any other kind of fluid. To crown Mr. Murray’s misfortunes, besides having already had his usual dinner he had, before receiving the honour of an invitation to the banquet, taken part in two common feasts. His first impulse was to look at the proportions of his partner, but instead of a

lean and hungry man, capable of swallowing an ox, he saw a little fat chief, who made him understand that he was not in good form. Hardly had Mr. Murray realised the horrors of the situation than the signal was given and the banquet commenced. In a few moments the plump chief gave out, pleading severe illness, when his left hand neighbour, a huge hungry warrior, who had already eaten his bowl, was permitted to replace him. With his aid the bowl was attacked with redoubled ardour; the big chief covered himself with distinction, without turning a hair or resenting the artifices of Mr. Murray to get him to take two-thirds of the bowl, but by the time it was emptied nearly all the other guests had finished, and Mr. Murray, somewhat to his chagrin, found himself the last but one. His great wish was to prove to the Pawnees that he could beat them in any trial of strength, but he had to confess that he was no match for them at a state banquet. What a contrast to good Bishop Ken, who, during part of his life, subsisted, and very comfortably too, on one frugal meal a day.

The people of Zanzibar should stand high for the comprehensive character of their cuisine. Among other delicacies are a small monkey, the *Cercopithecus Griscoviridis*, and a fruit-eating bat. Locusts are relished by the Bedawin of Mesopotamia, and some other eastern tribes: they are placed on strings and eaten on journeys with bitter and unleavened bread. The Jews, who were prohibited eating many kinds of food, which our larger experience teaches us are palatable and wholesome, as well as some that we do not venture to touch, were permitted to have their fill of locusts, 'Even of these ye may eat; the locust after his kind, and the bald locust after his kind, and the beetle after his kind, and the grasshopper.' Lev. xi. 22. John the Baptist also ate locusts and wild honey, and throve exceedingly upon them, till Herod put a period to his splendid labours, and we might learn many a useful lesson from his abstemiousness. The locust is an article of diet to this day, but only of the very poor; it is thrown into boiling water, and eaten with salt. To live on locusts and wild honey conveys a more accurate picture of extreme poverty and frugality to a traveller in the East than to anyone else. Locusts, however, are not always cooked: sometimes they are

eaten fresh. They are said to have a strong vegetable taste, the flavour largely depending, as might be expected, on the plants on which they have been feeding. Dr. Livingstone, who showed his common sense by not being fastidious, considered them palatable when roasted. Besides being taken by the Bedawin they are eaten by the Persians, Egyptians, and Arabians, and by the Bushmen and North American Indians. Nor is the locust a dish of recent times only. Diodorus Siculus and Ludolphus both mention a people in Ethiopia who ate locusts. The latter says, 'It is a very sweet and wholesome sort of dyet, by means of which a certain Portuguez garrison in India, that was ready to yield for want of provisions, held out till it was relieved another way.' Madden speaks of the Arabs drying locusts, grinding them to powder, and mixing the latter with water, and then moulding the dough into round cakes, which when cooked served as bread.

Some of the savage tribes of South America are accused of eating everything that by any possibility will support human life. Humboldt saw children drag enormous centipedes from their holes and crunch them between their teeth; but, as we have already said, insects and their larvae are favourite foods in many parts of the world. In the West Indies a large caterpillar, found on the palm tree, is reckoned a great delicacy, and why not, let us ask? To our civilised taste, however, carrion and bad eggs seem foods, which no human being could relish. Not so—the Chinese prefer stale to fresh eggs, and the Pariahs of Hindostan fight greedily with the dogs and jackals for putrid carrion. They would relish the rousette, a kind of bat plentiful in Java, which the natives value; but although its flesh is white, delicate and tender, it generally smells strongly of musk. The Nagus also eat raw meat.

Among the Greenlanders and the Eskimo the seal is an important food; and in spite of being coarse and oily, was formerly eaten in England. The porpoise was also an English dish, and its liver is, when fried, still, we believe, relished by sailors. Arctic explorers have found the walrus very palatable, and it is largely consumed by the Eskimo. The Japanese, New Zealanders, and Western Australians consider the whale good eating; and the Eskimo, we need hardly remind the reader, highly approve of

blubber, and get through enormous quantities. The blubber and flesh of the narwhal are one of the Greenlanders' dainties, while the Siberians and the Eskimo—those heroic consumers of everything that they can get—live in part on reindeer flesh. The crocodile is greedily devoured by the natives of certain districts of Africa; but Livingstone naively writes: 'To us the thought of tasting the musky-scented, fishy-looking flesh carried the idea of cannibalism,' though, he remarks, that its eggs are dug out of the ground and devoured by the natives. This is not surprising, as he adds that in taste they resemble hen's eggs, with perhaps a smack of custard, and they would be as highly relished by the whites as by the blacks were it not for their unsavoury origin in men eaters.

The foregoing do not exhaust the strange foods of the world,—dogs, cats, horses, lizards, bears, hedgehogs, frogs, otters, skunks, rats, mice, wolves, camels, and, indeed, almost every creature that runs, or flies, or crawls, or swims, is in favour in some part of the world or another, and properly served up is palatable. Surely culinary eccentricity could no further go than the Germans in preparing sauer kraut. This dish is a vegetable delicacy prepared from the leaves of cabbages: the stalk and mid rib having been removed, the leaves are cut up and placed in a suitable receptacle in layers, with plenty of salt. The strange mess is next subjected to pressure, and allowed to stand until it becomes sour from acid fermentation, then, being fit for food, and, as wholesome as it can ever become, it is stewed in its own liquor and eaten.

To come to our own country, where we do not eat sauer kraut and blubber, birds' nests and puppies, we shall nevertheless find some odd foods. The hedgehog, a favourite dish in Barbary, and not disapproved in Spain, is eaten by gipsies: squirrels, too, are occasionally cooked in this country, and are most delicious, and fully as palatable as jugged hare; at any rate we have ourselves stewed them, and we can testify that they are excellent. It is even said that frogs—the *Rana esculenta*—are often eaten in the North of England, while we know how the poor turtle fares when City Aldermen get him within their clutches. We do not eat toads, but the negroes do, and they consider them very palatable, and a species known as *Rana Bombina* is in some places eaten like fish. Sharks are good eating, and are relished by the

Gold Coast negroes and the natives of New Zealand, but not by those of Western Australia: the Polynesians feast on them raw, and gorge themselves in a most disgusting fashion. In the North of Scotland the small, smooth hound shark is still often eaten, and is esteemed a dainty, while the wealthy Chinese enjoy the fins of another species of the same formidable fish. Bees, grubs, white ants, grasshoppers, moths of many varieties, spiders, caterpillars, the cicada, and even flies, and the chrysalis of the silkworm are eaten. During Lent, in the South of Europe, the vineyard snail is in request. Apropos of snails—a resident in Wilts recently wrote to the papers in some amazement; he had actually seen a man hunting for snails, intending to eat them, and, still more extraordinary in the opinion of the writer, this man praised them. Roasted on the bars of the grate and eaten with pepper and vinegar, they were said to be delicious, but when soaked in salt and water, and cooked and served after the fashion of whelks, they were still better. The common garden snail puts on a load of fat just before retiring for the winter, and this Wilts snail-hunter, without perhaps understanding the reason, was of opinion that it was only during that season that these molluscs were fit for human consumption. Most likely he was wrong, but, in supping on such dainty morsels, the Wilts *gourmet* proved himself more sensible than many people, who would call him hard names, and then swallow a dozen raw oysters, and a piece of cheese swarming with parasites. In some parts of England snails are still eaten, not as ordinary articles of diet, but at stated feasts. The Newcastle glass workers were once, tradition says, famous for a partiality for snails, and every year had a sort of gastronomic festival, at which snails figured as the principal dish. Whether this good old custom continues we do not know, but the iron-puddlers of some parts of the Black Country still enjoy the same dainty, and it is not uncommon both in England and on the Continent to hear of snails boiled in milk being prescribed, like the viper broth of Carolinean times, for consumptive patients, though we should not venture to say that the medical profession should include snails among its weapons. We have in bygone days, when living on the borders of the nail-making districts of Staffordshire, seen men filling paper bags with snails to make

soup, and we remember being told that they were excellent eating. Near Bromyard, in Herefordshire, and in Scotland the same use has been made of them. It is less pleasant to know that they were once employed in the manufacture of imitation cream, and that they are still bruised and stewed in milk to make an article passing under that most comprehensive name.

Science leaves no room to doubt the eminently nutritive properties of snails. It has been asserted that the large quantities of these molluscs seen in the chalk pastures after rain, and which are eaten by the sheep along with the short sweet herbage on which both sheep and snails feed, have their share in giving that peculiar flavour to which South Down mutton owes its celebrity. The English prejudice against snails is singular, since, from time immemorial, considerable quantities have been collected round London and on the Kent pastures for export to France. In the latter country there is no squeamishness; most people there only regret that snails are too expensive to be indulged in frequently. In Covent-Garden the common snail often appears for sale; the purchasers, however, are almost exclusively members of the French, Austrian, and Italian colonies of London; while the Lisbon fruit market is said in autumn to be well supplied with huge basketfuls of snails, and in Madrid and other wealthy Spanish cities, fifteen different kinds have been counted on the slabs of the dealers. In Italy they are very popular; but no sooner are the Alps passed than the snail begins to disappear from the table, until, when Denmark and Sweden are reached, it is never seen there. In Switzerland, however, snails are reared and fattened with great care and are regarded as luxuries, and some are exported pickled. In some large Northern towns with a cosmopolitan population the snail has, as in London, a few patrons; but as a broad rule, the Latin races are its friends, just as they are of a dozen other foods which we neglect. In Southern Europe the vineyard snail is the sort held in most esteem. This species occurs in England, and is thought to have been introduced by the Romans, while other authorities hold that it was not brought over till the fifteenth or sixteenth century. It is extremely common in the neighbourhood of old Roman camps, and is very plentiful on chalk and other dry soils. An opinion now

very generally held is that the *Helix pomatia* is a native British species. The rulers of the world were not content with merely eating it in every form, they even fattened it in 'cochlearia,' on meal boiled in wine, which was regarded as the best food for producing large and juicy specimens. The trade in snails is perhaps greater than even during the palmy days of Roman luxury. In the neighbourhood of Dijon, a small farmer is said to have cleared three hundred pounds from his annual snail harvest; the vine growers keep them in dry cellars, or in trenches under a layer of leaves and earth; and from certain 'escargotières,' near Ulm in Würtemberg, ten million vineyard snails are sent every year to other gardens, to be fattened before being sold for the use of the Austrian convents during Lent. From Troyes it has been calculated that snails to the value of twenty thousand pounds—the wholesale price being, it is said, as high as four shillings a hundred—are forwarded to the Paris markets. Packed in casks, some are even exported to the United States.

If a choice is to be made, land snails ought to be preferred to sea ones. They are more delicate in fibre and flavour, and being for the most part vegetable feeders, are more cleanly in their habits; though, as we are not influenced by the filthy food of the swine to banish him from our tables, this objection is perhaps rather far fetched. Their wholesomeness is unquestionable. No one ever heard of a case of poisoning, or, when taken in moderation, of dyspepsia or colic, from a dish of land snails, while these troubles not infrequently follow moderate indulgence in mussels, clams, cockles, craw fish, crabs and lobsters. Snails are not the only excellent and cheap food which we reject. Eels are frequently refused from a notion that they are water snakes, though it is hard to find any dietetic reason for holding the flesh of one reptile in esteem, and that of another in loathing. The English frog is not the species most favoured by Parisian restaurants; and even in the French capital only the hind legs of the green one are eaten, although in Germany all the fleshy parts are used; and in Vienna, where there are regular frog preserves, almost any species is considered eatable. In the West Indies the grunting frog is in high favour, and in South Africa a large species which, when cooked, might be mistaken for

chicken. Young seal, as a material for soup, is equal to hare; while the skin of any cetacean, especially of the whalebone producing sort, is, when boiled to a jelly, a dish fit for a king. It is often sent in hermetically-closed tins from Greenland to Christian IX. of Denmark. An Italian is practically omnivorous, and eats almost anything, not despising unfledged backbirds and other such dainties. Gruesome tales are told of the terrible creatures which sometimes appear on the tables of old-fashioned Roman families; and some very peculiar animals hang up in the markets of the Eternal City. Prince Lucien Bonaparte remarked that it was possible to make a comfortable meal on most of them, the turkey buzzard always excepted, though the objection to it lies in its toughness and coarseness, not in its unwholesomeness. The reason for our insular suspicion of so many excellent foods, is probably that we have never known the straits which nearly every other country in Europe has experienced. Devastated by civil and foreign wars, laid waste by mercenaries, or by vast armies marching over their soil, it has often been the lot of the people of Germany, Italy and France, to face the alternative of eating anything which they could swallow, or of dying of hunger, and in this way experience has been the best teacher.

After all it is not so much the variety of the civilised epicure's dietary that fills one with surprise; the quantity of which he can dispose without difficulty proves him to be the brother of the Red Indian warrior.

'The sense of satiety is produced in us,' says Christopher North, 'by three platefuls of hotch potch; and to the eyes of an ordinary observer our dinner would seem to be at end; but no, strictly speaking, it is just going to begin. About an hour ago, did we, standing on the very beautiful bridge of Perth, see that identical salmon, with his back fin just visible above the translucent tide, arrowing up the Tay, bold as a bridegroom, and nothing doubting that he should spend his honeymoon among the gravel beds of Kinniural or Moulenearn; or the rocky sofas of the Tummel, or the green marble couches of the Till. What now has become of the sense of satiety? John—the castors!—mustard—vinegar—cayenne—catsup—peas and potatoes, with a very little butter—the biscuit called 'ruste,' and the memory of the hotch-potch is as that of Babylon the Great. Sense of satiety, indeed!—We have seen it for a moment existing on the disappear-

ance of the hotch-potch—dying on the appearance of the Tay salmon—once more noticeable as the last plate of the noble fish melted away—extinguished suddenly by the vision of the venison—again felt for an instant, and but for an instant, for a brace and a half of as fine grouse as ever expanded their voluptuous bosoms to be devoured by hungry love.’

Long ago Dr. Kitchener advised gourmets to eat until there was a sense of satiety—variety of diet being a whip to the appetite, and so the feeling of satiety might be experienced a dozen times in the course of a banquet. The old proverb calls it an ill wind that does not blow some one good, and the variety of dishes and the keen appreciation in which they are held by the luxurious, replenish the empty coffers of many a rising physician, who, were greater abstinence the rule, would have far less paying work to do. Gout and dyspepsia are invaluable complaints to the fashionable doctor and great friends of the undertaker, and in the interests of the latter we must not preach wisdom too loudly, and must hasten to topics less painful.

Dr. W. F. Ainsworth, in his recently published *Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition of 1834*, gives the following admirable sketch of a Persian lunch. Its comprehensive character cannot be denied, and the curious medley it presents is to us very strange:—

‘Decidedly, then, for the use of the future traveller, we would say that the best overture to a wayside repast is a water-melon, not cut in slices, as is done by some neophytes, but eaten like an egg, one end being cut off and the cellular parenchyma within extracted with a wooden spoon—that of the pear tree is the best—the roseate fluid percolating all the time to the bottom, and affording a fragrant beverage when the first proceeding is over. For a second course a cold fowl, with slices of snake and cucumber, can be recommended; and for *hors d'œuvres* the most refreshing are sour milk with chopped sage or rose leaves, also eaten with a pear-wood spoon or cucumber smothered in cream. In Faristan, ice can frequently be obtained to add to these cooling preparations, which may be also flavoured with rose water. For dessert the most easily procured dainties are prepared cream or “kaimak,” flaked with sugar, fresh almonds, iced rose-water sweetened with honey, or rendered more fragrant with the aroma of mountain thyme and absinthe or wormwood. Bread is made of acorns, and must be avoided. Sometimes a kind of *bec-a-figue* can be obtained. They must be cooked on a skewer of cedar. The young onion is less ardent in these countries than with us. Many little additions to make up the

“poetry of a repast” may be occasionally obtained, as a bunch of delicious grapes suspended for an hour under the moistened frond of a date tree, figs served up in cream, dates lightly fried in olive oil, or apricot paste dissolved in fresh milk. The repast must be followed by a chibuk or a kahyn, according to taste or habit. But the one is tobacco, the other a herb akin to it ; the one is smoked, the other is inhaled.’

We cannot close our article without some comments on earth eating or ‘geophagie.’ At first sight inexplicable, disgusting and unnatural, when understood it supports our contention that man can eat without serious discomfort all kinds of animal organisms. Some of the earths used for this purpose have been found to consist in part of the remains of minute organisms. Humboldt described a tribe of Otomacs that, during the rainy season, lived on a fat unctuous clay, which appeared to consist of a red earthy matter—hydrated silicate of alumina called bole. The Japanese also eat earth made into thin cakes ; they are offered for sale, and are used by the women to give themselves beauty and slenderness of form, and so must derange the digestive functions much as the more familiar vinegar so often used among us for the same unnatural purpose. Ehrenberg found that this edible earth consisted of the remains of microscopic animals and plants that had been deposited from fresh water. In Northern Europe an earth mainly composed of the empty shells of minute infusorial animalculæ is still much eaten, and in times of famine something very similar, called mountain-meal, has been used in Northern Germany. A mid-African tribe eats clay, preferring that of ant hills, in the intervals between meals. The coloured people of Sierra Leone devour the red earth of which ant hills are composed. It has, however, been asserted and on good evidence that much of the clay eaten by the inhabitants of tropical countries is dirt pure and simple, and without any alimentary value. The Agmara Indians eat a white clay, which is rather gritty, and which careful analysis proves to be totally devoid of any organic matter affording nutriment. Sir Samuel Argoll gave one of the earliest notices of this practice in a narrative of a ‘Journie in Virginia’ in 1613. ‘In this journie,’ he says, ‘I likewise found a mine of which I have sent a triall into England ; and likewise a stronger kind of earth, the virtue whereof I know not, but the Indians eat it for

Physicke, alleging that it cureth the sickness and pain of the belly.' Geophagy becomes at last an incurable vice, and Dr. Galt speaks of having seen a Mestize soldier dying from dysentery with a lump of clay in his mouth half an hour before his death.

Our subject is very far from completed, and we have done little more than touch the fringe of practically an inexhaustible study. Truly man is *par excellence* a cooking and an eating animal. He can find something to satisfy his appetite, if not always to please his palate, wherever he betakes himself, and he is never so happy as when exercising his ingenuity in discovering fresh additions to a dietary already formidable from its variety and dangerous from its temptations. Every month something fresh is discovered, compounded, or invented. Every improvement in the arts furnishes us with additional luxuries, often to the neglect of simpler, cheaper and more wholesome foods; while every fresh investigation of the remoter parts of the globe brings to light hitherto unheard of culinary dainties. If things go on as they are doing, the day will come when not even the omnivorous appetite of a city alderman will, in the course of a long tenure of office, be able to do justice to all the costly delicacies which human industry and ingenuity can bring together for its delectation. Courage, dear gourmand, you will never exhaust all the culinary supplies awaiting you: do not despair, dear gourmet, your many wants are not forgotten, and ingenious cooks are striving to provide you with still greater variety.

ALFRED J. H. CRESPI.

ART. VIII.—THE CESSION OF HELIGOLAND.

THOSE who have been prophesying every kind of 'surrender to Germauy,' will not fail to note in Lord Salisbury's despatch, issued June 17th, to Sir Edward Malet, that we propose to give our neighbours in East Africa considerably less than they demanded of us.

Beginning, then, with the principle that we claim the land

where rights have been acquired by British settlements, Lord Salisbury has made out to the satisfaction of the German Government that the region towards the south of Lake Tanganyika, between the Stevenson Road, the Nyassa Lake, and the Congo State, so far as it comes north of the eleventh degree of south latitude is to fall under our influence. England obtains a recognition of her protectorate over Zanzibar, and what is of great importance, all the Witu district to the north-east of the British East African Company's territory is ceded to us. With the possession of Wituland, England has the control westward of the Italian protectorate in Abyssinia from the first degree of southern latitude to the borders of Egypt. The Witu coast line alone is 200 miles in length, and the protectorate had only recently been assumed by Germany. The possession of this new territory ought to quicken the somewhat sleepy activities of the British East African Company. We must hear no more of their wishing to throw up the whole business in disgust, as has been sometimes obscurely hinted of late. With free access to the northern half of Lake Victoria, to Uganda, and to the north, Sir William Mackinnon's Company ought to make itself a powerful influence for good in that part of the world. At the same time, satisfactory arrangements are in progress for the final mapping out of the frontier between Damaraland and Ngamiland. Against all these advantages what have we to place on the opposite scale? Ostensibly, a small matter, the transfer of an island, one-fifth of a square mile in superficial area, to Germany. Unfortunately, Heligoland, as its name imports, is a holy island, and there is no arguing with sentiment, religious or other. In the old days the Angli used to go over to the sacred spot to offer sacrifices to the goddess Hertha, to whom a shrine was there dedicated. But in itself the connection between the little Frisian island and Great Britain is extremely slight, and is not even sacred by long prescription. Zanzibar and Wituland remain as a set-off to Heligoland. Now, the island of Zanzibar is the centre of the whole trade of East Africa, and is in constant communication with Bombay; and the possession of Wituland frees us from any European competitor in the trade routes towards the north and towards the Nile.

• There is no particular reason for giving Heligoland up to Germany, so long as all that could be urged in favour of such concession was the existence of a German sentiment on the subject which was diametrically opposed to our own. When, however, we obtain such important spheres of influence in East Africa in exchange for so small a transfer, we cannot but think that the obstinate desire to retain an island which is likely, in the course of years, to become a sandbank, is nothing more than the determination to surrender a reality and grasp at a shadow. Germany, on the other hand, has long desired the acquisition of an island which is so near the Elbe, and the price which she has now offered for it seems amply to justify the bargain entered upon by Her Majesty's ministers. For it must not be forgotten that even if German resources are unequal to the establishment of a vast empire in Africa, it was almost possible for German antagonism there to hinder the development of British enterprise to an enormous, and even prohibitive, degree. All idea of this is removed by the present agreement, and in future Great Britain, the only possible dominant power of the future in Africa, may rely on the sympathy and even co-operation of the State, which is her nearest and most powerful neighbour there.

That Germany could make Heligoland a useful fortress by spending upon it about one million sterling, is probable enough, but the admission does not take us very far. Is our possession of Malta or Mauritius to depend upon the result of a *plébiscite*? If not, on what grounds is it held that our retirement from Heligoland for Imperial reasons is to be conditional upon the willingness of its handful of inhabitants to release us from our duties? Care, however, has been taken to deprive the present inhabitants of substantial grounds for dissatisfaction by securing for them immunity from compulsory service in the German army or navy.

It is said that had Germany possessed Heligoland in 1870, the blockade of the Elbe and Weser by the French fleet in the early part of the war would have been impossible.

It must, to be useful in protecting the German rivers from blockade, support a naval force capable of operating against

the blockaders. But then the rivers themselves are capable of doing this; and whatever naval force is stationed at Heligoland must be withdrawn from the rivers. All that history tells us about these outlying fortifications in the midst of a hostile sea, is that they fall as soon as they are attacked by the power commanding the sea. Cases strictly analogous to Heligoland are found in Goree, an 'impregnable military position,' which surrendered at least seven times to the power commanding the surrounding water; and the Diamond Rock, six miles from the French port of Port Royal, in Martinique. This rock was seized and fortified by the British in January, 1804, and was held as long as we remained in command of the sea, but it fell as soon as Villeneuve took the command of the sea there in June, 1805.

Heligoland consists of a Rock Island, a mile long, and of a Sand Island, which can accommodate in summer some 2,000 holiday-makers from the Continent. Till the year 1720 this sandy dune was connected with the main rock, but the fierce gales of that stormy winter broke down the link, or what the Heligolandians called 'de waal,' and about a mile of comparatively deep water now rolls between. A tradition still exists that Heligoland and Schleswig-Holstein were in former times joined together, and that many hundred years ago people walked from Holstein to Heligoland, across the sands, in a day. Heligoland, in ancient spelling Helgoland, or Hertha Isle, had belonged to Denmark since the time of 'Othère, the old sea captain who dwelt in Helgoland,' in the reign of King Alfred of England; but in the general spoliation of this much-wronged country in the beginning of the present century, it was taken from the Danes by England, and together with the whole Danish fleet, converted to our own use. It was confirmed to us by the treaty of Kiel in 1814, since which time it has remained uninterruptedly in our possession, not, however without many angry and covetous eyes being fixed upon it, and many negociations and propositions for its exchange made by a long line of German Chancellors. Heligoland forms one of those Frisian islands of the North Sea which formed the cradle of our race. Most of

these islands were secured by Prussia in her annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, and if it suffer the same fate, Heligoland will but go the way of the Frisian world. From the harbour of Sylt, according to local tradition, Hengist sailed to the conquest of Britain. The storms of fourteen hundred years have washed Hengist's harbour out of recognition, but the tradition has defied their ravages. There is a lighthouse on the island of Sylt, but I think it was unlighted during the war in 1864. The Föhr Islands have been, with Heligoland, the resort of multitudes of bathers from all parts of Austria and Germany for years. French visitors, often to the extent of nine hundred, come here during the season for the fresh, salt breezes and excellent bathing.

The greatest attraction of the short season in Heligoland is the illumination of the coasts and caves, which takes place in August. The sight is said to be one of indescribable beauty, and it is witnessed by nearly the whole population, who row in procession from point to point, headed by the police boat and the Governor's barge. The police are apparently retained for this duty alone, for they have little to do at any other season of the year. Fishermen, pilots, bird-skin and feather-dressers, muff-makers, together with lodging-house keepers, form the population of Heligoland. The Governor is said to be as autocratic as the Czar within his modest limits; and the national debt—for to be strictly accurate, the island is not wholly without one—stands at £10. The language, which is unwritten, is generally called Frisian, but is pronounced by the learned to be Anglo-Saxon; not so surprising, inasmuch as the neighbouring countries of Schleswig and Holstein were inhabited by Saxons, who were subdued by the Emperor Charlemagne in the ninth century.

There are neither horses nor cows on the island of Heligoland, a few goats only being kept, whose extremely unpleasant milk is sold at a fabulous price. There are no roads, but the clean little toy-like-looking lodging-houses, bright as paint and whitewash can make them, are popped down on the velvet turf anywhere, to all appearance, and without foundation. They are all of one storey, and everything is sacrificed to

compactness; otherwise in the fierce winds which assail and occasionally cover the island with driving sea-foam, the houses would be literally blown over the cliffs. It is the sea, the sea, and nothing but the sea, at Heligoland. There are few trees, no running water, no ruins, but an extraordinary width of sea view, seen as from the deck of a gigantic ship. There is no harbour—passengers are pulled ashore in boats. The only romantic associations are a ghost, believed to represent a person in orders and of the Lutheran persuasion, and a sort of sub-population of elfin people, who live under the Treppe, or steps that lead to the summit of the rock. Heavy storms of hurricane force sweep over the bare unprotected island for weeks together, only to be succeeded by thick, rolling sea fog, wet as rain. Heligoland is the favourite resting-place for those vast flights of woodcock which in the month of October, leave the fast fading forests and bare rye-fields of Norway and Sweden, where they have hatched out their young and fattened the young birds upon the resinous shoots of larch and succulent bilberries of the North. Not only do the woodcock congregate in great quantities on this island, but enormous flights of chaffinches, buzzards, hedge-sparrows, jays, and Lapland buntings.

In conclusion I would remark that Britain is giving up an island only half the size of Hyde Park.

ANDREW T. SIBBALD.

ART. IX.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (April, May, June). In the April number the most important article to which we have to call attention is that which Dr. Georg Adler contributes, and in which he examines the question of international protection for workmen. The well-known economist is looked upon as an authority on this special subject, and has already dealt with it in several works which have often been quoted, of late, in connection with it. He

prefaces the present paper with a brief, but masterly sketch of the origin and progress of the idea of securing for workmen, by means of international agreement, a greater amount of protection than simply national legislation can give them. He then indicates the various points which should be taken into consideration in such an agreement, and concludes by a careful, and on the whole, hopeful estimate of the possibility of carrying out such a scheme.—In the same number Herr Georg Brandes devotes an essay which he entitles, ‘Aristocratic Radicalism,’ to Friedrich Nietzsche, in whom, and in whose philosophical doctrines a new interest has been awakened by the news of the mental malady by which he has been stricken. The paper is carefully and thoughtfully written, and gives an excellent sketch and appreciation of a writer who, though his life work is left incomplete, undoubtedly deserves to be studied.—A further instalment of Herr Julius Rodenberg’s ‘Franz Dingelstedt,’ deals with an important period in the poet’s life, that from 1843 to 1851. Besides a number of interesting and valuable letters the paper also contains the fragment of a novel at which Dingelstedt worked for a while with great energy, and as to the success of which he entertained sanguine hopes, but which, for all that, he never brought to the point when it could be given to the public.—A very interesting picture of scientific and social life at Breslau during the sixteenth century is contained in the article which bears the title, ‘Dr. Laurentius Scholz von Rosenau’ and the signature of Herr Ferdinand Cohn.—An anonymous contribution headed ‘In Remembrance of Andrassy’ gives a very vivid sketch of the late diplomatist.—Herr Heinrich Brugsch’s ‘Joseph in Egypt’ is probably the article which will best repay the general reader in the May part. It is full of most interesting information concerning the probable scene of the events narrated in the last chapters of the first book of Moses, their date, and the characters who figure in them. Particularly striking is the translation given of a papyrus containing a story bearing a strong resemblance to that of Joseph.—For those who have not by this time had enough and more than enough of Bismarck articles and sketches, there is a paper which is certainly amongst the best of the many which recent events have called forth.—Professor Hermann Grimm continues the series of papers on Homer’s Iliad, of which we indicated the beginning last quarter. The second and third books are here dealt with; and if, as we have already said, there is nothing absolutely new or of special value from a purely philological point of view, the manner in which Professor Grimm treats his subject, and the literary excellence of his essay make it very agreeable reading.—A further instalment of Herr Julius Roden-

berg's series of papers from the literary remains of Franz Dingelstedt, a rather heavy paper 'Aus dem modernen Italian,' by Herr P. D. Fischer, and the first part of an essay which Lady Blennerhassett devotes to an examination—and condemnation—of contemporary currents of thought, close the number.—In the last of the three numbers there are two articles in particular which will be found most interesting reading. The first of these, which is contributed by Herr Friedlaender, gives an excellent sketch, indeed, a summary of that quaint fragment of Latin literature, 'The Banquet of Trimalchio,' by Petronius, as well as such particulars as are known concerning the author himself. The other which appeals to an even wider circle is entitled 'Sacred Trees and Plants,' and is full of interesting information and quaint legends illustrative of the folk-lore of trees and plants. Although of considerable length, it is not yet finished, and most readers of the present instalment will look forward with interest to the next number.—The paper headed 'Stammbuchblätter aus Gothe's Nachlass' raises expectations which are not altogether fulfilled. For, one of the albums in question, though it appears to have belonged to the poet, has otherwise no very special value. The other, however, was really his, though not begun by him, and contains some complimentary scraps of prose and verse written by his friends. A number of these not always very striking effusions are duly quoted.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (April, May, June). In the first of these three numbers we have, immediately after the opening chapters of Herr Wilhelm Jensen's serial 'Auf der Baar,' a lengthy and particularly interesting account by Herr Emil Riedel, of a winter which he spent amongst the Apaches Indians of North America. Some writers, particularly in the States, have represented these aborigines as the very refuse of mankind, as savages whose sole thoughts by day and night are theft and murder, and who, when prevented from indulging in these favourite pursuits, console themselves by counting over the scalps they have obtained, sharpening knives, and poisoning arrows. Herr Riedel has, however, a very different story to tell, and he certainly appears to have truth on his side. Ten illustrations lend additional interest and value to his charming paper.—Under the title, 'Volksmedizin und Kurpfuscherei,' there is a very instructive and entertaining paper in which Herr Wolzendorff brings together, from various sources, some quaint particulars as to the popular treatment of diseases in the Middle Ages.—So much has been written of late about Henrik Ibsen, in this country, that but few, perhaps, will care to go to a foreign review for fur-

ther information about his life and works. At the same time, any reader who takes up the essay which Herr Paul Schlenther here devotes to him, will have no cause to regret spending half an hour over a really excellent piece of work. The sketch is accompanied by a very good portrait which will disappoint those who, judging him from his works, expect to find something dreadfully revolutionary about him. It might easily pass for that of a douce Scottish bailie. This, by the way, reminds us of a fact of which we have noticed no mention in Herr Schlenther's biographical sketch of Ibsen,—that he is actually of Scottish descent.—Herr Kollbach, in a short, but pleasantly written paper, gives an account of a visit to the Scandinavian highlands, away from the beaten tracks where tourists abound.—The paper in which Herr Garbe sketches the 'Life of the Hindoos' is fairly well put together, but is not, for all that, of any very special value, being simply based on the two well-known works by Shib Chunder Bose, and Bulloram Mullick. To those, however, who are unacquainted, as most German readers will, of course, be, with either 'The Hindoos as they are,' or 'Home Life in Bengal,' Herr Garbe's description cannot but be acceptable.—From a purely literary point of view the most important contribution to the June number is an article on Gustav Freytag. It is largely biographical, but it also contains some critical remarks on his works. There is a portrait which may once have been good, but which, as it represents a man of about fifty, at most, whereas Freytag celebrated his 70th birthday four years ago, can scarcely give a good idea of the author as he now is.—In a first instalment which, however, extends over thirty-eight pages, Herr Oskar Sommer deals very minutely and technically with the church architecture of Berlin. Thirty illustrations, chiefly ground plans, fail to give it any special attraction in the eyes of the general reader; but specialists will, of course, think very differently.—A descriptive sketch of a trip to the Rhön mountains, a part of Germany but little known to the ordinary tourist is, with the exception of the lighter literature and perhaps of the paper on Velasquez, which bears the signature of Herr Moriz Carriere, the most readable of the remaining items.—The May number contains three articles of the kind which this magazine has made its specialty. The first of them takes the reader into the valley of the Schwarza, in Thuringia; the other amongst the traders of the West of North America; and the third through the ruins of Philæ, in Egypt.—A paper on Franz Schubert is, though rather technical, amongst the most readable of the remaining articles, amongst which it will suffice to mention 'Sehen und Hören,' and 'Die leuchtenden Fische der Tiefsee.'

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (April, May, June).—By most German reviews and magazines it appears to have been looked upon as a matter of duty to devote an article to Bismarck. Such being the case, it can scarcely be astonishing that these Jahrbücher should have gone beyond that, and actually treated their readers to two papers dealing with him and his ministry. One of them takes for its text ‘Bismarck’ purely and simply; its tone is, as might have been expected, one of enthusiastic praise, and it concludes with this rather peculiar figure of rhetoric ‘Before him’—that is before Bismarck—‘we were slaves and dwarfs in a dirty mine. Now, there lies before us the noble marble of national greatness. May we shape it in a manner worthy of the man who brought us to this quarry!’ The other paper is supposed to be a review of Professor Sybel’s work ‘Die Begründung des Deutschen Reichs durch Wilhelm I.’ but it is treated with special reference to the beginning of Bismarck’s ministry.—Herr Otto Harnack contributes a paper which students of Schiller will find instructive, but which can scarcely be recommended as very light reading. In it the author’s endeavour is to determine the influence exercised on Schiller’s productions by his friend Christian Gottfried Körner, to whom, as is well known, he submitted a great deal of his work, and who was the reverse of a mild critic of it.—A political article of considerable length, contributed by Herr Conrad Bornhak examines what the writer considers to have been, and still to be, the three leading political ideas of the century—constitution, self-government, and social reform.—A rather quaint and certainly very interesting paper is that which gives what we may call a history of the various devices which art has adopted for the purpose of symbolizing the holiness of the personages represented.—In the table of contents of the May number there appears a literary essay of some interest, entitled ‘Henry von Kleist’s unfinished tragedy of Robert Guiscard.’ It not only gives an analysis of this remarkable fragment, but also a sketch of the author, as well as of the hero, and is, altogether, a very excellent piece of work.—Herr Bernhard Seuffert has set himself the task of compiling an account of the journey which the Duchess Anna Amalia of Saxe-Weimar made to Italy about a hundred years ago. He has gone for his materials to the letters of those who accompanied her, and has thus succeeded in putting together a very readable paper.—The other two items are: ‘Ein einheitliche Städteordnung,’ by Herr Gustav Dullo; and ‘Der Evangelisch-soziale Congress zu Berlin,’ by Herr Adolf Harnack.—The third of the quarter’s numbers opens with a long, solid, and rather technical article, in which a writer, who signs his initials only, examines the various

systems of defence adopted by the several nations of Europe, along their frontiers, and the respective parts which they would play in the event of a war.—The school system of the United States is the subject to which Herr Thomas H. Jappe denotes a short paper based on works tolerably familiar to the English reader, which, however, he supplements with the result of his own experiences.—In point of general interest the best thing for this month is perhaps the essay in which Herr Franz Servaes sketches the life and work of Ludwig Augengruber, the dramatist who died about the end of last year. In a particular striking passage the writer draws a parallel between Augengruber and Ibsen.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Viertes Heft, 1890).—Dr. F. Loofs has the first place here, and discusses the vexed question of the constitution of the early Christian Church, ‘Die urchristliche Gemeindeverfassung.’ His article is for the most part a critical review of Professor Loening’s *Festschrift*, ‘Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums,’ and of Dr. Harnack’s strictures on that work which appeared last year in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*. Dr. Loofs, while acknowledging the merits of Professor Loening’s contribution to this obscure subject, seems to regard its author as hardly competent from his non-theological training to speak with authority on it. He characterises the work as ‘eine hypothetische Konstruktion der Entwicklung (der Kirche), deren Richtigkeit, um von andern zunächst zu schweigen, abhängig ist von einer Reihe sehr streitiger Voraussetzungen über die Chronologie der Quellen.’ Dr. Loofs follows step by step Professor Loening’s arguments, and sets forth the inadequacy of many of them to establish his positions.—Professor A. H. Franke treats of the differences between the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Galatians as to the history of St. Paul, and endeavours to show how in several respects they may be reconciled.—Professor Loesche gives an elaborate account of John Mathesius’ Sermons, ‘Die Predigten des Johann Mathesius,’ and endeavours to arouse public interest in them, and show their importance as contributions to the history of preaching. The other articles are, ‘Beiträge zu Luthers Schriften aus der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek,’ by Dr. C. Buchwald, and ‘Luthers Schreiben an Bugenhagen v. J. 1520,’ by Dr. J. Köstlin.—Dr. F. Kautzsch reviews Count Baudissen’s recent work, ‘Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums untersucht,’ and Herr Heinrich Spitta, Wundt’s ‘System der Philosophie.’

RUSSIA.

VOPROSI PHILOSOPHII U PSYCHOLOGII—QUESTIONS, PHILOSOPHICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL.—This new Russian philosophical Review is edited by Professor Nicholas A. Grote, a son of the Academician of that name, and Professor in the Moscow University. The first article in the new journal is one, explanatory of the scope of the review by Professor Grote. Seeing the enormous progress made in the sciences, he asks whether there be not room for a similar movement in a different direction? Ought not the end of life to be sought, not *without* but *within* our nature? not in the physical or physiological but in the moral interest of life? It is in this *inward* search into the powers and capabilities of man himself that the new journal would find reasons to justify its existence.—The article which follows may be called the leading one. It is by M. Vladimir Solovieff, on ‘Beauty in Nature.’ The union of forms, sights and sounds which in Nature are pleasing to man, are also pleasing to the lower animals; which shows that there is a Power in Nature whose presence is felt, both subjectively and objectively, and which is struggling against the primitive chaos, and seeking to evolve both for the individual and the species, nobler and more beautiful forms. This does not depend upon utilitarian reasons, for sometimes forms are evolved which are hurtful to the individual, though more pleasing aesthetically. There is thus an idea in Nature struggling upward through the lower forms to the higher, until it reaches the creation of man, in whom it arrives at self-consciousness, and even develops art in the spirit of man and in the artistic creations to which that spirit gives birth.—The next article is from the pen of M. Kozloff, who has been impressed by reading a work by Professor Bunge of Basel, Switzerland. This gentleman has recently published a *Lehrbuch der physiologischen und pathologischen Chemie*, by the whole contents of which M. Kozloff has been less moved than by some brief fragments which rather unexpectedly he found in the work. He had previously been struck by the prevailing statements in physical and physiological circles that the laws of life are mere deductions from the laws of chemistry, physics and mechanics. Professor Bunge has come to the conclusion that the phenomena of life are far too complicated to be explained as deductions from physics, chemistry or mechanics. Nor is this difficulty confined to the examination of complete and highly organized creatures, it is true equally of the creature which is confined to the minute dimensions of the cell. Bunge’s final verdict is that the more thoroughly, many-sidedly and deeply, the phenomena of life are investigated, the more do we find

that they mock in their complexity every kind of mere mechanical explanation. M. Kozloff finally traces the history of the conflicting mechanical and teleological views of Nature, to the latter of which he mainly adheres.—Prince Sergius Troubetskoi follows with an article which is in the main a demonstration of the unsatisfactory character of the Protestant, but particularly of the English Psychology, in which, however, the author includes the Scottish School of Reid and Beattie. He objects to its purely subjective character and consequent inability to pass beyond the circle of merely personal consciousness. He holds that the attempt of Reid to give validity to the scheme by appealing to common sense, was an unqualified failure.—M. W. Shishkin, the author of the next paper, defends as a working theory that mechanical view of Nature which, as we have seen, was assailed by M. Kozloff, in relation to Psycho-physical phenomena, more especially in relation to the effects of forces as translated from *without* the human consciousness to *within* the same. The mechanical theory of Nature is further convenient as permitting the use of mathematical formulæ in the work of research.—M. N. Lange's paper, which comes next in order, recounts the experience of the author after taking doses of hashish or Indian hemp, as remembered by himself, and also as observed by an experienced physician.—The final article, which is by M. V. Lesevitch, is an account of religious freedom as favoured by the edicts of the Buddhist ruler, Asoka the Great. The author begins by referring to the growing popularity of Buddhism in Europe; and particularly in England, where Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* has reached its 51st edition; he then passes on to notice the difficulties in ascertaining the real views of the early Buddhists, but comes to M. Senart's work *Les Inscriptions de Piyadosi*, which he considers a safer source of information, and cites in particular, Asoka's 7th and 12th edicts, where the bases of such freedom and toleration existing in these early times is to be found.—The concluding part of the first number is taken up by an account of psychological *séances* in Paris, from the 6th to the 10th August, 1889, and of an international Congress for Psychiatry held also in Paris from 5th to 11th August, 1889. The remainder of the journal is taken up by the reviews of books.

VOPROSI PHILOSOPHII U PSYCHOLOGII—QUESTIONS, PHILOSOPHICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL.—The second number opens with an article by M. E. Radloff, on the two leading literary men connected with the French Revolution, Voltaire and Rousseau; traces their mutual relations, their respective philosophical stand-

points, the one a pessimist, and the other an optimist, and the consequent development which took place in the unfolding of the great drama of the Revolution, as it was connected with them personally.—M. N. Ivantzoff follows with an elaborate disquisition on the relations of Philosophy to Science. The author quotes a variety of views on the subject and finally comes to the conclusion that both are knowledge organized, the one more general, the other more thoroughly and positively. While Philosophy is incomparably the more ancient of the two, and more diffused, she must gradually yield to Science as our knowledge waxes more positive and perfect.—The paper which follows upon this is M. L. Lopatin's, on 'The Position of Ethical Problems in Contemporary Philosophy.' Of this no flattering picture is drawn, but the manifold and contradictory views of different philosophers, from Descartes to the present time, are pointed out. The antagonistic schemes of Spinoza, Düring, Count Leo Tolstoi and Leslie Stephen are contrasted, and their mutually destructive character is shown.—The article next in order is by M. N. Zueruff, on 'The Freedom of the Will.' After a critical examination of the methods which have been pursued in dealing with the problem, he holds that false contradictions as between the objective conception of necessity and the subjective view of freedom, have been imported into the question. The Will may be free yet we need not deny the validity of the causal nexus. He holds that the essence of freedom lies in the relation of Reason to the Will, and that thus we act freely when we act in accordance with reason in the higher sense of the term.—The editor, M. Grote, now takes up the question, 'What is Metaphysics?' This he holds to be the scientific element in philosophical speculation. Following up Aristotle's *τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά*—through the Dialectics of Plato to the new metaphysics of Kant who, he holds was completely misunderstood and misapplied by Comte, he comes to the conclusion that Metaphysics, as the scientific element in philosophy has to do not with one but a whole group of sciences, Ontology, Logic, Ethics, and Æsthetics. Metaphysics stands in the same relation to such sciences as mathematics to the physical sciences.—Following this, M. Shiskin continues his researches on psycho-physical phenomena from the point of view of the mechanical theory. Taking up the conclusions of Professor Sylvanus Thompson, M. Luys, M. Mouton and others, he examines the possibility of the conversion of external forces into their internal or subjective equivalents, and the laws attendant upon this conversion.—The concluding article is by M. D. Ovsenuiko-Kylikoffsky, on 'Extracts from the History of Thought.' In it he seeks to trace the origin of

certain philosophical ideas and ancient philosophical systems. This would also include such views of Nature and Man as emerge in the Indian *Vedas*, the *Zendavesta*, and the ancient Greek philosophies. He follows this up with certain mythological concepts as expressed by Agni in the Indian, and Hephaestus, Hermes, Apollo and Prometheus in Greek mythology.—The special part of the journal is taken up by accounts of an international meeting in Paris on the practical use of Hypnotism and also on Criminal Anthropology, and ends with a review of bibliographical and philosophical works and publications.

VESTNIK EVROPY—Messenger of Europe.—(March, April, and May).—The high educational aim of the *Vestnik Evropy* is evidenced by Mr. Ant. Okoleski's lengthy essay on 'Gymnasium Reform in Germany.'—Mr. Boborykin's romance 'Na Ooshcherbey' is continued as far as chapter xi. of the third book.—'A New Fantasia on an Old Theme' gives us lengthened notices of the well-known Socialistic works: *Looking Backward*, by Edward Bellamy, and *The Co-operative Commonwealth in its Outlines*, by Laurence Gronlund.—'Poetry' is illustrated by Mr. M. Lipkin in a romance of 1472 verses in Byronic style, entitled 'Keystoot and Biroota,' a tale of the fourteenth century; also by Alexie Zhemchoozhikoff (six pieces), M. A. D. (five pieces), Iakoff Ivashkevich (three pieces), Bl. (two pieces), and by O. M-va and Vladimir Solovieff (each one piece).—'A Contemporary Diogenes,' a tale of Swiss travel, in nine chapters, by Mr. N. A. Tal, is given complete.—A further instalment of Mr. Crawford's 'Eve of the Revolution' lands us in book 2, chapter xvi.—A review of the 'Life and Works of the philosopher Gerder' by Gayma, translated by Mr. V. N. Nevedomski, occupies ninety-three pages over the signature of A. I. Pypin.—'Old and New Conceptions of Government,' from the pen of Mr. L. Z. Slonimski, is an essay of 43 pages, deserving more than ordinary thoughtful perusal.—The 'Chronika' consists of papers on 'Government Competitions in France,' by M.; 'Emigration and Russian National Economy,' by A. A. Isalyeff; and 'Execution of the Governmental Lists (or Budgets) in 1889,' by O.—'Home Review' contains notices of many matters, the most interesting of which, to foreign readers, is that relating to the Penitentiary Congress lately held at St. Petersburg.—'Foreign Review' deals chiefly with German matters, in which the Emperor William II. and his Socio-political projects, and the resignation of Prince Bismarck fill a large place. French doings, and the death of Count Andrassy, are also noticed at length.—The 'Literary Review' notices eleven Russian works, and gives the titles of 120

works received but not noticed.—‘New Foreign Literature’ contains notices of *Socialism of the Street in England*, by W. C. Crofts (Paris, n. d.); *Socialism at St. Stephens*, 1886 and 1887, by the Earl of Wemyss; *Socialism in England*, by Sidney Webb (1890); *Idealismus*, by Chr. Muff (Halle, 1890); *Philosophie und Politik*, by Moritz Brasch (Leipzig, 1890); *Travels in France during the Years 1787-8-9*, by Arthur Young (London: Bohn, 1889); *Adam Smith und der Eigennutz*, by Richard Zeyss (Tubingen, 1889); *Sociale Politik im Deutschen Reich*, by Karl Wasserrab (Stuttgart, 1889); *De la possibilité d’une future alliance franco-allemande*, by Colonel Stoffel (Paris, 1890); *Vue générale de l’histoire politique de l’Europe*, by Ernest Lavisse (Paris, 1890); and *Das Problem der Grundbesitzvertheilung in geschichtlicher Entwicklung*, by August von Miaskowski (Leipzig, 1890).—The ‘Society Chronicle’ contains forty-five pages of small talk, and the ‘Bibliographic Leaves,’ on the inside of the paper covers, contain notices of fourteen literary works. We can sympathise with the poor authors who are doomed to this outside place, for prone as the Russian bookbinders are to include coloured paper wrappers within their new covers, the instances must be frequent in which those paper wrappers are torn or soiled, and obliged to be cast aside by them. Some of the works thus reviewed are worthy of the excellent notices given: the greater then is the regret at the too probable sacrifice. We observe in the present Nos. notices of the masterly *Translations from the Ancient Greek* of Prince Sergie Troubetskoi; a *History of Russian Ethnography* by one of the Editor’s collaborateurs, Mr. A. I. Pypin; and an *Encyclopædic Dictionary*, by Proff. I. E. Andreyefski. These surely are not works of passing interest, and to our mind deserve a more permanent record than the paper covers even of the *Vestnik Evropy* can furnish.—The specialties of each month which call for remark are:—in the March number a second article by Mr. Yanzhool on ‘Practical Philanthropy in England,’ giving an account of the recent popular extension of the national Universities; the conclusion of Mr. Dedloff’s tale ‘On the Lap (or Bosom) of Nature’; an article on ‘Ancient Languages’ and their influence in forming the character of a nation, by A. V-ff; and a continuation of Mr. Ooteen’s translation of the ‘Journal des Goncourt.’—In the April number we have the review of ‘A New History of the German Empire,’ by H. von Sybel, whose work is entitled *Die Begründung des Deutschen Reiches durch Wilhelm I.* The review is signed by K. K. Arsenieff.—The May number gives us a tale by the late Mr. M. E. Saltykoff, entitled ‘Broosin,’ bearing the date 1849; a ‘Study of Psycho-physical Types,’ by Mr. D. Anoochin, based

upon the work of D. A. Dril, entitled *Psykhophyzicheskie Typye*; and sundry other papers.

РОСКАРНАН МЫСЛ—Russian Opinion—(March, April, and May).—Some recent transcriptions from the correspondence of Messrs. Herten and Ogareff in 1843 and onward, are recommended anonymously as 'Materials for a History of Russian Society.'—'Poetry' is well represented by Mr. D. Merezhofski with a lengthy narrative in verse entitled 'Vera,' completed in sixty-five well filled pages; and by Messrs. Vl. Lahdyzhefski, Paul Kozloff, and L. Palmin, one piece each.—Mr. Sankevich's romance 'Without Dogmas' pursues its diary course, hailing now from Rome, then from Florence, Cracow, Paris, etc.—'Samotzveyty' and 'Borskaliyah Koloniya' are the titles of two completed stories by Messrs. D. I. Mamin and — Karonin.—'Ireland Forty Years Ago,' a romance by Miss Anne Carey, translated by V.M.R., is carried on to chapter xix.—Mr. Kapoostin's 'Cursory View of the Materials for the Formation of a Protective Society of Landowners' is continued and completed in fifty-one additional pages.—'Emin Pasha and Stanley' is an appreciative and full record of familiar events by L. A.-ff.—'A Cursory View of Science' contains notices of *The working of Theoretical Questions in Historical Science*, by N. I. Kareyeff; *The eighth Archaeological Meeting in Moscow* in January last, by N. I. Milyoukoff; and *Nicolai Michaelovich Przhevalski and his Services in Geographical Discovery*, by — B.-ff.—Mr. Shelgoonoff's interesting 'Outlines of Russian Life' are continued.—The limited space allowed to Mr. V. A. Goltseff for the 'Foreign Review,' about eight pages per month, make it that but small attention can be given to other than German and Austrian doings. France comes in for a trifling share of attention, but England, America, and other States, are put off with little more than a bow of recognition.—'Home Review' is naturally better off, and has on an average twenty-three pages per month.—In the 'Bibliographic Division' we have, in the departments of (1) Belles-lettres, notices of seven books; (2) History, five books; (3) Political Economy and Statistics, twenty books, including *Christian Socialism*, by the Rev. M. Kaufmann, *Socialism in England*, by Sydney Webb, and *The Physiology of Industry*, by Mummery and Hobson; (4) Jurisprudence, four works; (5) Naturalism, five works; (6) Technics, four works; (7) Rural Economy, eight works; (8) Medicine, nine works; (9) Philosophy and Pedagogy, one work; (10) Geography and Ethnography, five works; (11) Publicism, one work; (12) Elementaries, twelve works; and (13) Periodicals, twelve works: in all ninety-three works.—Of

matter special to each month, the March number contains the concluding chapters of Miss Margaret Woods' *Village Tragedy*; a complete tale by Mr. N. N. Raykofskahyah, entitled *Za Gorodome*; the concluding pages of Mr. Yourieff's paper 'Concerning the Realization or getting-up of a Drama with Scenery'; and an anonymous translation of an article by Mr. Herbert Spencer in the January 1890 number of *The Nineteenth Century*, on the 'Ethics of Absolute Politics.'—The April number of our present *Rooskahyah Mysl* contains what appears to be a complete tale by Ouida, but as we have little acquaintance with that lady's works, we give the translated title *Vetka Sireyni* rather than make a false shot in re-translation, a thing most easily done in the matter of names of books and authors when exhibited in Russian characters.—The May number, among other papers of interest, has a continuation of Mr. Koraylin's article on 'Serious Moments in the History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages'; and a further translation from Mr. Herbert Spencer's papers in the March and April numbers of the above quoted *Nineteenth Century*.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (April, May, June).—There are several solid articles on historical subjects in the quarter's numbers. 'Italian Unity in 1799,' by A. Franchetti, describes the effects produced on Italy by those troubled times.—'The Marriage and Loves of William Shakespeare,' by G. Chiarini, is a paper running through a few numbers, and aiming to prove that the last twenty-eight sonnets were addressed neither to a friend nor a wife, but to a mistress.—J. Guidi points out the differences among the Abyssinian churches.—Oscar Bulle contributes a long and interesting paper on Goethe in Italy.—G. Boglietti gives an account of the deeds of Don John of Austria in Flanders during the rupture of the peace and the battle of Gemblours.—G. B. Intra relates the story of Princess Anna Gonzaga di Rethel's two secret marriages.—A. Ditucona publishes the first part of an account of the Resurrection of Italy, gathered from the memoirs of Count Frederic Confalonieri, who fought and suffered for Italy at the beginning of the present century; and R. Marino writes on Constantine the Great and the Christian Church, while Professor Villari makes us acquainted with the origin of the Commune of Florence.—In political and politico-economical matters we have some remarks from Signor Bonghi on Bismarck's fall, which he regrets; a paper by A. Loria on the Austrian school in political economy; a proposal for the conversion of the national debt, by Sydney Sommino; a paper on the Reform of

Public Charity, full of valuable conclusions and statistics, by Professor Villari, wherein he advocates reform and demands a new law, which shall prevent such charity from becoming a party weapon.—An 'Ex-Minister' writes on Italian Finance.—G. Pozzolini, describing the prospects of the Italian colony 'Eritrea,' advocates free-trade with the mother country.—Colonel Gorran contributes a thoughtful paper on financial and military politics, indicating a mode of avoiding the existing difficulties, and pointing out the more delicate points of a question that needs to be well and promptly considered.—The purely literary articles are one on Beatrice in the life and poetry of the 13th century, by I. del Longo; and newly published letters from and to Joseph Mazzini, relating to the editing of Ugo Fosco's works.—We have besides two art-papers, one on Tintorello, by M. Pratesi, being a chapter from his descriptions of great Venetian painters; and one by C. Boito on schools of art in architecture.—The miscellaneous papers are a recent visit to the Sèvres manufactory, by E. Mancini; Posts and Telegraphs and their reform, by A. F.; a few papers to the memory of Aurelio Saffi, by C. Albicini; the story of the Aosta brigade, by Colonel Baraturo, abbreviated from Major Fabri's history of that corps; a biographical sketch of Count Andrassy as a fortunate Statesman, by Signor Bonghi; and a description of a book by G. Petrogardi of Este on 'Ancient Imperial Militia.'—Music is touched on by a lively criticism, by F. d' Arcais, of Mascagni's *Cavalleria rusticana*, which he considers the beginning of a new and glorious period in Italian music.—Fiction is worthily represented by several stories: 'Sister Ludovica,' by Emma Perodi, a serial; 'The Doctor's Little Mule,' by L. Capuana; a clever character sketch, 'Signor Libero,' by C. Castelnuovo; a little Sicilian tale, 'La Reginotta,' by U. Fleres; and, last not least, a chapter 'The Romance of a Master,' by Signor de Amicis.—The bibliographical bulletin notices with praise W. E. Montgomery's 'History of Land Tenure in Ireland,' and herewith we conclude our picture of the contents of the quarter's productions.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (April, May, June).—The historical articles appearing in this Review during the above-named three months are varied in character. D. Caruth contributes the first part of a paper on the fortress of Pinerolo, giving its history, and the story of its most celebrated prisoners, which goes to prove that the 'Iron Mask,' was a man of middle rank, neither a prince nor a noble.—E. Errera writes on Calabrese and Venetian patriots, founding his facts on De Cesere's 'A Family of Patriots,' and 'The Italian Resurrection,' and in another number gives an

account of 'Daniel Manin in Venice.—A Virgil contributes a paper on 'Giovanni delle Bande neri in the French camp before Pavia,' being part of a forthcoming new life of Giovanni dei Medici.—We have also a short sketch of the article on 'Cavour and his politics,' by Alfieri, which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*.—The principal articles relating to politics and political economy, are one by P. Manassei on 'The Laws of Agrarian Credit and their Results'; on 'Artificial and Natural Constitutions,' by A. Brunialti; on the proposed law concerning the state of the Royal Family, where the writer proposes an imitation of the Primrose League with the marguerite or daisy for an emblem; a discussion by A. di Pesaro on Vatican diplomacy and the question of the temporal power, giving a full account of the late negotiations between the Holy See and the European states, the result of which has, says the writer, been wholly negative, and productive of new and lasting deceptions.—'X.' writes on Monarchy and Democracy, and G. Borglietti on the Politics of Philip II.; and F. Virgili discusses the application of mathematics to politics, giving also a sketch of what has been done and written in this field.—L. Billia has something to say on the question of Candia and oriental confederation.—Of a literary character are G. Forlebraccio's article on the poems of Gabriele d' Anonymo; the continuation of P. E. Castaguolo's paper on the Roman poets of the last half of the seventeenth century, his subject here being Giambattista Macari, from whose works he gives copious extracts; a literary quarrel between G. Forlebraccio and the poet Carducci, described by the former; a long article on the Philippics of Alessandro Tassoni, by E. Errera, examining the relations existing between Carl Emanuele and Spain at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the philippics were written, briefly describing Tassoni's political opinions, and pointing out the solid character of his works; and, finally, M. Ricci's paper on Giovanni Rizzi and the Manzonian school of poetry, in which we are told that Rizzi was an Italian patriot, a native of Treviso, who fought with sword and pen against the Austrians, was later Cavour's secretary, and, later still, filled the post of professor at a Milan college. He was an intimate friend of Manzoni, an excellent literary critic, and the composer of many poems.—The biographical articles in these three numbers are: a monograph on François Mignet, by A. Rossi, founded on Pétit's biography of that historian; A. Norsa's account of the late Enrico Poggi, one of the group of eminent men who contributed to the regeneration of Italy; and an eulogium by F. Jacometti on Camillo Re, a well-known magistrate and councillor.—Dr. Rho's voyage in the Malesian archipelago runs through

the numbers and is concluded; as also does a theological and ethical essay in the form of a dialogue entitled 'Emanuel,' by A. Conti.—R. Stuart describes the 'Season' in London; and the novel 'Rainbow' is continued.—Art is represented by an article from F. S. Kraus criticising Raphael's paintings in the Camera della Segnatura in the Vatican, describing their origin, the price originally paid for them, about 13,500 francs; the length of time employed in production, about two years; their subjects, and the various criticisms passed on them by native and foreign writers.—The monthly review of English literature in the number for June 1st chooses books that in some way relate to Italy. Of Marriott's 'Makers of Italy' the reviewer says that he differs from the author in his choice of the 'makers.' Instead of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour, he would have Cavour, Victor Emanuel and Napoleon III., and that all contemporary history would support him in this choice.—The other books noticed are Charles Edwardes' *Sardinian and the Sardes*; Fyffe's *History of Modern Europe*, and Ellis's *The New Spirit*, which is dubbed a new example of one of the most common fallacies of the human intellect, that there is something new under the sun.

ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANA (1st issue for 1890) contains 'The conspiracy to liberate Arezzo from dependence on Florence in 1431,' by U. Pasqui.—'Studies on Guicciardini,' by A. Rossi.—'Inedited letters of Pasquale de Paoli,' by G. Livi.—'On the value of a passage in the works of G. Villani concerning the origin of Prato,' by A. Guasti.—'On an obscure passage in the comments of Jacopo della Lana,' by L. Zolekauer.—And notices of Temple Leader's and Marcotti's *Sir John Hawkwood*, Charles Yriarte's *Cæsar Borgia*, and other works.—The second issue for 1890 contains 'Tilelfo's *Commentationes Florentinae de exilio*,' by C. Erera, and continuation of the 'Inedited letters of Pasquale de Paoli,' by G. Livi.

THE REVIEW OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE (April, May,) contains: 'On the possibility of forming a new political party,' by the Editor.—'Africa,' by C. di Levi.—'The Legislative Faculty of the Government,' by M. Galcotti.—'The Contemporaneous State,' by G. Ioua.—'The Anglo-Portugese Dispute about Africa,' by F. P. Contuzzi.—'Religion and Politics among Parties,' by C. Cadorna.—'William II. and Bismarck's Dismissal,' by G. Boglietti; and notices of Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, G. Vachellis *The State and Culture*, and of three works of the 'Contemporary Science Series,' namely, Professor Geddes and Thomson's *Evolution of Sex*, Isaac Taylor's *Origin of the Aryans*, and G. B. Sutton's *Evolution and Disease*.

ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLETANO (Year XV. fasc. 1) contains continuation of the story of 'Carlo Martello,' describing the second and third years of his rule, and the Hungarian question in 1290, his coronation as King of Hungary, his reign in Hungary, its close, his return to Italy, his meeting with Dante, etc., etc., by M. Schipa.—The last part of 'The Theatres of Naples from 1500 to 1800,' by B. Croce, gives an interesting account of comedy opera and its introduction into Naples.—The bibliographical notices mention several English works, and blame severely Jeaffreson's scanty knowledge of his subject as displayed in his *The Queen of Naples and Lord Nelson*.

THE ARCHIVIO VENETO (fasc. 75, year XIX.) contains: 'Guestina Michiel and her Times,' by Vittoria Malamani. The subject of this interesting memoir was the daughter of Andrea Manin, and was born in Venice the 15th October 1755. She was as beautiful in character as in person, and married, when twenty years of age, a noble named Marc Antonio Michiel. The author of the memoir relates an anecdote of an interview between the lady and Napoleon I. One morning the Emperor was reviewing his troops in the Square of St. Mark in Venice. Guestina stood among the crowd, and was pointed out to the Emperor by one of his suite, who was a relation of the lady. The Emperor sent two officers of his staff to fetch Guestina to his side, and on her approach abruptly accosted her with the question: 'For what are you famous?'—'I? Famous?' exclaimed Guestina, surprised.—'Yes, you! But for what?'—'For a friend, sire, who knows how to speak thus favourably of me,' she replied, and pointed to her relation.—'But what have you written?' the Emperor insisted.—'Some trifles, sire, not worthy of remembrance.'—'In verse or in prose?'—'In prose, your Majesty. I never could write verse.'—'But you are an improvisatrice?'—'I would I were on this occasion, then I might do myself honour.'—'But what have you written?'—'Several things of little moment. I have made some translations.'—'Translations? of what?'—'Of tragedies.'—'Racine's tragedies, I suppose?'—'Excuse me, your Majesty, I translated from the English.' On this, the Emperor turned his back and rode on and the lady was taken back to her place among the crowd.—The number further contains 'The splendid Benacense country (the coast of the eastern bank of Lake Garda), its statutes and laws,' by U. Papa.—'Researches concerning the ancient Gonfalon of the city of Brescia,' by A. Valentini; 'The holy-water vase in the Torcello Museum,' by D. Bertolini; and Bartolommeo Cecchetti, by G. Giorno, with a list of his works.

FRANCE.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (April, May, June).—The paper which heads the table of contents of the first number is perhaps calculated to raise expectations which it scarcely satisfies. Professedly it deals with the art of prolonging life; in reality it contains a great many statistics and examples of persons who have lived to a great age. It also examines into the surroundings and conditions of life of these persons. All this is very interesting, no doubt, but when we come to look at the practical result there is some cause for disappointment, for it amounts to this, that under certain conditions, which are wholly beyond our control, and which may be expressed generally in the one formula ‘a good constitution’; and under certain other conditions, which we can, to a certain extent, command, and which regard the preservation of health, we have a certain number of chances—the percentage might be given—of living beyond 80 and possibly to 100.—After this M. L. Marillier contributes a philosophical paper, in which he examines the motor phenomena in their connection with the will.—A paper of very considerable interest is that which M. L. Faurot devotes to a description of the sponge fishery in the gulf of Gabes.—For a long time, and, indeed, until quite recently, Australia has usually been looked upon as the chief wool-producing country. A rival has, however, started up of late years, and the Argentine Republic is now very nearly on a level with the island-continent in this respect. This is what M. Daniel Bellet shows in an instructive paper which he entitles ‘Les Laines de la République Argentine,’ and from which we take the following figures with regard to the comparative production of the various countries in the world. Belgium is at the bottom of the list with an average of 6 sheep to every 100 of the population; Austria has 17; Italy 30; Germany 41; France 59; Russia, Portugal, and Hungary 62; the United States 87; Great Britain 105, and Spain 131. As against this we have the formidable number of 2387 per cent. in the Argentine Republic; which is only a very little below the 2500 placed to the credit of Australia.—The paper in which M. Pinard compares the teaching of obstetrics at the present day with what it used to be relates more particularly to France, but it contains many details which specialists, at least, will read with interest in this country too. As a sample we may mention the statement that many students are allowed to qualify as medical men without having ever ‘*examiné une femme ni assisté à un accouchement.*’ This is monstrous, exclaims M. Pinard, but it is so.—M. Bailé has devoted a long paper—it runs through two numbers—to an examination of what has been done in the way of taking railway trains up steep inclines; and he

finds that it is very little, and that as yet, it is only on the level that they can be used to practical advantage.—The various, not unsuccessful attempts which have been made to produce artificial silk are explained in an unsigned article which appears in number 15.—Although the views which M. Cadet de Gassicourt sets forth in his paper on physical education may be rather too pessimistic, he calls attention to a question which is of high importance in every country, but even more in France than it is here. In view of the military service which is compulsory on all young men, the writer urges that a systematic training in athletic exercises is absolutely necessary whilst they are at school, if they are not utterly to collapse, as he asserts many do, under the fatigues which they are suddenly called upon to undergo as soldiers.—Of the remaining articles in the April number, that to which special attention deserves to be called is one headed ‘Les vaccinations antirabiques à l’Institut Pasteur.’ It is accompanied by statistical tables and charts showing the amount of work which has been done and the results which have so far been obtained.—The first May number opens with a particularly interesting and attractive article. It is entitled ‘Les Médecins de Molière,’ and throws special light on the state of the faculty at the time that Molière satirized it. It also shows that the great comic wrote with a thorough knowledge of the subject himself. So persuaded is the writer of the beneficial influence exercised by Molière, that he suggests that his bust should find a place somewhere in the Academy or the Faculté opposite to those of Hippocrates and Galen, and that the inscription should be: ‘A. J-B. Poquelin de Molière, la médecine expérimentale.’—In the physiological section, there is an important paper which gives a very detailed description of the *ergograph*, an instrument devised by M. Mosso for studying the phenomenon of muscular fatigue in human beings.—In an article of not only scientific, but general interest also, M. E. Duclaux considers milk as an article of food. From a number of details which he furnishes we may quote the following figures with regard to the almost incredible multiplication of bacteriæ in milk. Examination has shown that, one hour after milking, a litre—a little more than two pints—of it contained 9 millions of them; that there were 230 millions at the end of eight hours, and 63,500 millions after 25 hours.—‘La Baleine et sa Pêche’ by M. Retterer is another of those articles which, though treated with scientific accuracy, are nevertheless put before the reader in such simple form as well as with such literary finish as to make them most enjoyable reading even for the general public.—The question of imposing a tax on strangers, which has lately been the subject of considerable discussion in

France, has suggested to M. V. Furquan an article in which he examines, first of all, the increasing proportion of the foreign invasion and the several nationalities who take part in it. He then goes on to show what parts of France are most affected by it, and in what manner the commercial and industrial activity of the immigrants manifests itself. His figures show that at the census of 1886 there were in France 36,134 British subjects; 100,114 Germans; 482,261 Belgians, and 264,568 Italians.—Of the remaining articles in the number before us the most important are, ‘*Coutumes et Croyances des Tribus de l’Afrique Australe,*’ ‘*L’Analyse de la Terre par les Plantes,*’ ‘*La Faune des Cavernes des Etats-Unis,*’ ‘*La Méthode Antiseptique et la Clinique,*’ ‘*L’Extinction du Bison en Amérique,*’ ‘*Le Rôle de l’Architecture dans l’Hygiène des Maisons et des Villes,*’ ‘*La Production de la Houille en Europe,*’ and ‘*l’Influence de la Chaleur sur les Microbes.*’

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (April, May, June). The first of the six numbers before us opens with the last instalment of M. Octave Feuillet’s novel ‘*Honneur d’Artiste.*’ Whilst in point of literary finish, it is quite worthy of the veteran writer, it appears, in tone, to indicate that after a long struggle, he has at length surrendered in some measure to the ‘*naturalists.*’—A sixth part of the Duc de Broglie’s ‘*Etudes Diplomatiques*’ is followed by an admirable sketch of Beaumarchais. The writer is M. Larroumet whose name has hitherto figured here as that of a Molière scholar. It is to be hoped that he will treat the author of the ‘*Marriage of Figaro*’ and of ‘*The Barber of Seville,*’ with as much thoroughness as marks all that he has written about his great predecessor. The present essay gives promise that he intends to.—‘*L’Empereur Julien et la Flottille de l’Euphrate*’ is another of those articles, at once naval and classical, which Admiral Jurien de la Gravière has made his specialty. It is most instructive, most striking, and most suggestive. Instructive in so far as it records a comparatively unknown episode of history; striking for the estimate which it presents of Julian’s character; suggestive because of the absolute certainty with which the author writes of an approaching struggle between England and Russia in the valley of the Euphrates. How far his scheme of using a flotilla for purposes of transport, is really feasible, specialists may be left to decide.—It goes without saying that Prince Bismarck’s resignation is the subject of an article here, too. It is written by M. Valbert, whose opinion comes to this, that the personal government of a man of genius and of prodigious experience has been replaced by the personal government of a young, restless and enterprising king,

anxious to show all that he can do, and to win his spurs.—The mid-monthly number opens with a brilliant study by M. Taine. Its title is ‘La Reconstruction de la France en 1800.’ The author’s object is to point out the defects and the effects of the system, and the present instalment deals in particular with local society.—M. Emile Montégut, in continuation of his ‘Historical and Literary Curiosities’ devotes an article to the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, the latter of whom, disrespectfully styled ‘Mad Madge’ by her contemporaries, is now remembered chiefly on account of the admiration which Charles Lamb expresses for her and her *Life* of her husband.—An interesting contribution to the same number, ‘Catherine II., d’après des Mémoires inédits’ is based, and, indeed, is, in part a reproduction of remarks and anecdotes written by a lady of the Empress’s Court, whose name is not, however, mentioned.—M. Jules Rochard, whom the nature of his numerous contributions to this periodical almost justify us in styling the officer of health of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, has a long paper on cremation. The conclusions at which he arrives are that cremation, as it is now practised, offers no inconvenience from the point of view of sanitation. He thinks it is well that, under ordinary circumstances, opportunities should be afforded for the cremation of those who prefer it and have chosen it as a means for the disposal of their remains after death, but he does not think it advisable wholly to substitute it in the place of inhumation. In order to avoid the overcrowding of cemeteries, he would allow it in the case of subjects who have died in the hospitals without expressing any special wish on the subject. He further thinks it would be an advantage to cremate the bodies of those who have died of infectious diseases; but he holds that it would be impossible to do so in the case of epidemics with a high death-rate, and impracticable on the battlefield after such engagements as those about Metz in 1870, for example.—For the general reader on this side of the water, there is not a very great abundance of matter in the first of the May numbers. The continuation of M. Taine’s ‘La Reconstruction de la France en 1800’ he will presumably not skip; but it would be rash to assert the same things with regard to either the seventh instalment of the Duc de Broglie’s ‘Etudes diplomatiques’ or the ‘Correspondance diplomatique du Comte Pozzo di Borgo et du Comte de Nesselrode.’—To the already long series of ‘studies’ which he has devoted to ecclesiastical history, M. Gaston Boissier adds another interesting one dealing with Christianity and the invasion of the Barbarians in the fifth century. From a close examination of the later works of St. Augustine, of the history of Orosius, and of the treatise of Salvianus, he infers that if the

Church did ultimately side with the conquerors, it was only with hesitation and reluctance, but that, in doing so, she saved what could be saved of Roman civilization.—In the same number there is, from M. Croiset, an essay on Herodotus, which classical students will find well worth reading.—Unless the beginning of a novel by M. Guy de Maupassant be held to atone for all shortcomings, the second of the month's numbers is even less satisfactory than its predecessor. We are, of course, judging, not from a French, but from a foreign point of view. In proof, here are the bare titles of the articles, 'Mme de La Fayette and Ménage'—it may not be unnecessary to state that this takes us back to the end of the 17th, not of the 18th century.—'La Réforme Administrative,' which, as dealing with and advocating the separation of the Church from the State, in France, at least, some may, after all, consider of some importance; 'Les Facultés en 1889'; 'L'Académie des Beaux-Arts depuis la Fondation de l'Institut,' and 'Souvenirs du Baron de Barante.'—Everybody knows, or, at least, has heard of, *Galignani's Messenger*, but very few, in all probability, know much of its history, and even fewer still are aware that the foundation of a paper now more than three-quarters of a century old is not the only thing connected with the name, and that the establishment of a home for indigent artists—in the widest sense of the word—and men of letters will henceforth give it a wider and higher celebrity. In a long article, written with all his usual brilliancy, M. Maxime Du Camp traces the history of the Galignani family, and of their paper, and also describes the 'Home' for the foundation of which they left funds. It will be found in the first June number.—M. Valbert's 'Les Anglais en France pendant la Révolution' appears on the same table of contents, and will be read with interest by those who do not happen to know the English work—Mr. Alger's—from which he draws his materials.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (April, May, June). One of the most important of the studies in the three numbers before us is that in which M. H. Lachelier examines and explains Wundt's system of Metaphysics. He considers it the most serious attempt yet made in Germany to create a definitive empirical system, an attempt all the more interesting that it is the work not only of a philosopher, but also of a savant. M. Wundt, he says, believes that modern science, with its precise methods, could lead to a system of metaphysics, and he has set himself the task of showing us what this system was. He may possibly succeed in inducing scientists to look with less suspicion on transcendental research. At any rate, the writer is convinced that Wundt's work, from

the accuracy of its method and its perfect agreement with the present tendency of both science and philosophy, is deserving of a warm welcome from the scientific and philosophical public.—From M. Ern. Naville there is a thoughtful paper on ‘Science and Materialism.’ The general drift of it may be understood from the single sentence in which the writer sums up his conclusion: ‘If matter existed alone, materialism would not exist.’—In the same number M. G. Sorel has the first part of a treatise which he entitles ‘Contributions Psycho-physiques à l’étude esthétique.’—The April part contains papers dealing with two questions which have, of late years, attracted considerable attention. The first of these is the moral responsibility of criminals. M. Louis Proal, who examines it, is a lawyer, and may, therefore, be supposed to set forth the legal, as opposed to the medical view. It is consequently not astonishing to find that he altogether dissents from the modern theories of the Italian school which tend to take away from criminals the responsibility for their actions, or, at least, greatly to attenuate it. The chief argument which he puts forward is based on the remorse which every criminal feels, or, at least, the consciousness of guilt, which he cannot get rid of.—The other subject has even more ‘actuality,’ it is that of heredity. In a paper of considerable length, M. Lucien Arréat reviews four notable contributions to the discussion which it has provoked. Two of them are English, ‘The Evolution of Sex,’ by Professor Geddes and Mr. J. A. Thomson, and Mr. F. Galton’s ‘Natural Inheritance.’ The other two are Dr. Legrain’s *Hérédité et alcoolisme*, and M. Guyau’s ‘Education et Hérédité.’ From a close examination of the proofs and arguments adduced, he arrives at the conclusions that the following propositions ‘appear solidly established’: 1. Physiological heredity is the cause, psychological heredity the effect; 2. Degeneracy is transmitted; disturbances in the nutrition of the nervous centres have as their consequence hereditary mental disturbances, which become greater and greater from one generation to another; 3. Heredity is governed by the law of ‘return to mediocrity,’ and this law is itself an expression of the stability of the type; 4. Education remains subject to this law; it is a powerful means of social life, without being the first factor in the evolution of human societies.—In the May number M. Jules Pavot sets forth arguments in support of a theory according to which ‘sensation is only the expression in terms of consciousness of the pretended effects of sensation,’ and that ‘pleasure and pain are a simple recognition by consciousness that the results of sensation either do or do not affect the forces necessary to life.’ The same number contains a lengthy sketch of the history of philosophy in Spain.

L'ART (April, May).—Last year's Exhibition has not yet entirely disappeared. It here claims five articles. In the first of them M. Léonce Benédite deals with the various Schools of Decorative Art which were represented in it. The artistic exhibits in wrought iron supply material for the second, which is contributed by M. Marius Vachon. The goldsmith work has two articles devoted to it; and finally, M. Marius Vachon writes about tapestries, hangings, and decorative stuffs generally.—Besides this, there are several instalments of the annual review of the Paris 'Salon.'—As independent articles, we have some remarks by M. F. Lefranc of a lecture on Naturalism, recently delivered by M. Brunetière.—Two comparatively lengthy, excellently written, and well illustrated papers on the Dutch School between 1609 and 1688 are contributed by M. Petroz.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (Janvier-Mars, 1890).—M. J. Halévy continues here his series of 'Recherches Bibliques.'—Herr Hugo Winckler has recently called in question the historic accuracy of the narrative in 2 Kings, xvii. 13—xix. 37, in at least two particulars. He has affirmed that the cuneiform inscriptions from Babylonia know no such officer as the 'Rabsaris' mentioned in xvii. 17, and that, as in a Babylonian account of Sennacherib's assassination, only one son of the king is said to have perpetrated the deed, the Biblical narrative xix. 37, which names *two* sons as having been engaged in it, must be inaccurate. M. Halévy carefully examines this young German Assyriologist's arguments, and has no great difficulty in disposing of them, and showing that in both details the Bible is historically correct.—Professor H. Graetz, under the title of 'Un mot sur la dogmatique du Christianisme primitif,' endeavours to show how early Christianity took its rise in, or was dependent for its principal dogmas on, Essenism, and especially in respect to the idea of the Divinity of Jesus. It is a short paper, but deserves careful attention.—M. D. Gunzbourg sets himself to trace the origin of the word 'Talit,' the name given to the oblong cloth worn by the Jews on their heads or shoulders, especially in their devotions.—M. Loeb furnishes four brief notes on interesting points of Jewish (modern Jewish) history, the third, that on the 'Blood Accusation,' being specially worthy of attention.—M. M. D. Kaufmann and T. Reinach deal in turn with the Jewish Inscription of Auch. The former writer also gives several original documents bearing on the history of the Jews in Italy.—M. Mayer Lambert treats of the tonic accent in Hebrew, and sums up the rules that govern its usage.—M. D. Gazés has a short paper on some Jewish antiquities in Tripoli;

and M. M. S. Reinach and I. Lévi give a series of extracts from geographical writers and travellers bearing on the Jews of the Orient.—There are several other short papers in this number, and it is enriched also by M. T. Reinach's annual summary of the publications and work of the Société, and a *conférence* by M. Loeb on 'Le Juif de l'histoire et le Juif de la légende.'

REVUE DE L' HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1890).—There are two important articles in this number, and both bearing on early Christianity. The first is by M. V. Courdaveaux—'Saint Irénée.' After a brief introduction on the importance of Irenaeus as a Church leader, and a modifying factor in the development of early Christian dogma, he gives a summary of what is known of the Saint's personal history, relegating the story of his martyrdom, however, to the province of pious fiction. Only one of the many works attributed to him has been preserved, and that in a Latin translation, the Treatise in five Books against Heresies. It is directed chiefly against those of the Gnostic Schools. M. C. gives us a short sketch of its contents, and the arguments by which Irenaeus supports the positions he takes up. He shows us then how the views of Irenaeus made way in the Church, and how much they have affected Christian thought ever since.—The second article is from the pen of M. E. Amélineau, 'Les Traités Gnostiques d' Oxford.' There are two works in the Bodleian Library there on Gnosticism, which have excited for some thirty years the interest of scholars. It has frequently been proposed to publish them, but the difficulties that lie in the way of this undertaking have as yet proved insurmountable. M. Amélineau has carefully studied them, and gives here the results of his labours, or, in his own words, 'les résultats de mes recherches et de mes études, de mes hypothèses et de mes convictions.' The object is to determine the nature, origin and importance of the documents in question.—The only other article here is a short one on 'La Chanson de Bricou,' by M. E. Montet.—Several books of note are reviewed, and the 'chronique,' the 'Dépouillement des Périodiques,' and 'Bibliographie' follow.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Janvier - Avril, 1890).—This double number is full of varied and excellent matter. It opens with a remarkably able study of the life of St. Malo, by M. L. Duchesne, of which two versions, often at variance with each other, have come down to us, one bearing the name of Bili, a deacon at Aht, and the other anonymons. The questions which M. Duchesne sets himself to solve are the relation of these versions to each other and to historical fact. The conclusion he arrives at is, on the first point, that they are independent compila-

tions from the same primitive text, the author of which is spoken of by Bili as living long before his own time. Bili's date he fixes about the year 870, Malo's reception by Leontius, bishop of Saintes, at 614, and his death about 640. That St. Malo was a disciple of St. Brandan the voyager he denies, notwithstanding the assertion of Bili, whom he roundly charges with borrowing from the Life of the Irish Saint the story of St. Malo's voyages in search of the Fortunate Isles, as well as with making use in his prologue of Fortunat's prologue to his 'Life of St. Pair d'Avranches.'—'Les Bracae et les Hosae' is a discussion in response to an appeal by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville respecting the evidence afforded by the ancient monuments as to the precise meaning of the terms *bracae* and *hosae* among the Celts and Germans, and the exact nature of the garments they indicate.—'A Note about Fiacha Millethan,' by Dr. Whitley Stokes, is a note from the Book of Lecan, illustrative of the belief in unlucky days among the ancient Irish, and furnishing an instance of the power which, in times of Paganism, Irish fathers appear to have had over their daughters.—M. S. Reinach discusses an Attic inscription bearing on the invasion of Greece by the Gauls of Asia Minor, and accounts for the silence of Pausanias in reference to the Athenians when speaking of the defence of Delphos.—'Gloses Bretonnes,' by M. R. Thurneysen, is a series of Breton glosses which, though printed some years ago, has apparently escaped the notices of Celtic scholars, being mentioned neither in the *Grammatica Celtica* nor by M. Loth in his Old Breton vocabulary. They are found in an alphabetical poem existing in a MS. at St. Omer, belonging to the tenth century, and are here given in full with an elaborate commentary.—M. K. Meyer prints, translates and annotates, for the first time, an isolated episode in the Ossianic tale known as 'Toruigheacht Dhiarmuda agus Ghrainne,' edited and translated by Standish H. O'Grady for the Ossianic Society. The episode does not occur in O'Grady's text. It is entitled 'Uath Beinne Etair'—The hiding of the hill of Howth.—An interesting article bearing upon hagiology is contributed by M. Loth under the title 'Les anciennes litanies des Saints de Bretagne.' It refers to an article contributed to a previous number by Mr. Warren, and seeks to identify a large number of the Breton Saints and to ascertain the right form of their names.—'Les Gaulois dans l'Italie du Nord' is an admirable geographical study by the Editor.—It is followed by a series of Breton versions of the parable of the Prodigal Son, contributed and annotated by M. E. Ernault.—There are several continuations from preceding numbers, among which must be mentioned M. de La Villemarqué's

'Anciens Noël bretons.'—Correspondence, reviews, and the 'Chronique' complete a very excellent issue.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1890).—M. l' Abbé Desgodins, Pro-Vicaire of Tibet, begins a series of papers on Buddhism in Tibet—Le Bouddhisme Thibétain. The first part of this month's instalment is taken up with a sketch of the origin and early history of Buddhism, including a brief account of the events, legendary or historical, of Gautama's life. M. Desgodins then tells us of the introduction of Buddhism into, and its reception in, Tibet, and next proceeds to describe, or point out, several of the modifications it has undergone there in its doctrines and in its rites.—M. l' Abbé Loisy concludes his study on the 'Proverbs of Solomon.' He deals here first with the question as to Wisdom, *chokma*, its origin and nature—whence it comes to man, what is its relation to God, and what it actually is,—an hypostasis? or a quality? The answers to these are sought in the teaching of the Book of Proverbs itself. M. Loisy then discusses the action of this gift of God on man's character and on the life of men generally, the morality it inspires and inculcates.—M. l' Abbé Peisson continues his account of Confucianism. He devotes this part of his treatise to Confucius himself, to his history, and to a critical estimate of his personal character and work as a statesman and a religious reformer. The 'Chronique' is as usual full and comprehensive, giving an enumeration of the courses of instruction in the Science of Religions in the different seminaries of learning, Catholic or other; and short notices of the publications issued that bear directly on the province of this Science.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA: REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (March, 1890).—This number commences with a lively Pontifical extravaganza by Emilia Pardo Bazan. The account of the Spanish ecclesiastical dignitary at the Court of the Vatican, who had all the Crosses and Orders of Spain as well as of Italy, and to whom the Pope, in lack of any other Order, presented a diamond-mounted snuff-box with his portrait, is full of humour. The dignitary asks the Secretary of his Holiness what colour of ribbon to hang it with, and is told 'tobacco colour;' with the result that he makes his appearance with the snuff-box amongst his other orders hung by a tobacco-coloured ribbon!—The second paper on 'Democracy in Europe and America,' by A. Canovas del Castillo, is well done, dealing mainly with Switzerland. He quotes Hepworth Dixon as saying with reason, that if the first element in the United States is citizenship, and the first in

England the house or the family, it is in Switzerland the municipality.—‘The Castle of Arteaga and the Empress of the French’ is a most interesting account of the brilliant ancestry of the Empress Eugenie in Biscay. Of the ancient nobility of Castille (*rica-hembra*), doña Maria Eugenia de Guzman y Portocarrero, daughter of the Count of Montijo, Countess of Teba, of Ablitas, of Baños, of Mora, of Santa Cruz de Sierra, Marchioness of Ardales, of Osera, and of Moya, grandee of Spain. An account of the rebuilding of the ancestral castle of Arteaga, and the loyalty of the Biscayans to the Empress and her son, follows. The Imperial family never occupied the famous castle, repaired with such magnificence and garnished with native marbles.—‘Catalan Literature in 1889’ is most valuable, giving as it does an account of the native products of a province that may be called the Lancashire of Spain.—‘Military Conversations’ discuss the present unsatisfactory condition of the Spanish army, on which 150 million pesetas are expended, that might ‘almost as well be thrown over the balcony.’ In ‘Spain beyond Sea,’ attention is called to the necessity for the reforms, and to the Washington Congress, ‘called Pan-American, but which one would call more correctly *absorptionist*, seeing that its tendency is to absorb Latin America in the United States.’ The paper breathes a strong feeling of independence against United States dictation on the American continent.—In ‘The Literature of Social Science,’ Adolfo Posada shows a thorough grasp of his subject, and deals boldly therewith. While objecting to the partial and limited tendency to build up sociology from the preparatory sciences, so that to some sociology is the capitol of biology, he admits that it is undoubted that we could not arrive at the conception of the social problem, with the complexity with which we conceive it to-day, if the investigations verified by these same sciences had not been undertaken.—The ‘Literary Review’ is of a novel called ‘Realidad’ (Reality), by D. Benito Perez Galdós, which to the reviewer appears as a Spanish reflection of a new departure in contemporary art, in the style of Zola. If no more, it is a change of posture and, to a certain extent, a change of procedure.—‘Art in Spain’: this is a translation by William Macpherson of the address by Sir Frederick Leighton to the students of the Royal Academy.—‘The Defence of Tarascon,’ by Alphonse Daudet; ‘First Love,’ by Theodore de Banville, and two well-written sonnets, lead up to a chapter of Bibliography—reviews of ‘The Duke of Rivas’ Poems,’ in which the present duke is said to be shaded by the glory of his father, although himself of very high merit—and of

'Voyages in Galicia,' a Portuguese account of this province, which in many respects is more allied to them.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA: REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (April, 1890.)—'Recollections of My Childhood,' by Count Leo Tolstoi, are full of those glimpses of Russian life that we are accustomed to find in his larger works, only there is a touch of tenderness not always present in his greater efforts.—'How to Live,' by Theodore de Banville, is the wisdom of a dying man of a dying age. Still it is wisdom, wisely put.—Gustave Doré is the subject of an appreciative article by Emile Zola. 'To describe him in a single word, he is an improvisatore,—the greatest improvisatore of the pencil that has ever existed. . . 'Gustave Doré has been, without doubt, one of the most singularly gifted artists of our time. . . Such is the opinion of a realist regarding the idealist Gustave Doré.'—'Democracy in Europe and America' is continued, and Canovas del Castillo points out the weak point in American institutions in the election by the people of the judges and functionaries. Switzerland never admitted this. 'And it is owing, without doubt, to this that all the tribunals in the European Confederation and those purely federal in America remain free from discredit.'—'Mallorcan Literature in 1889.' Almost all the intellectual activity of Mallorca is consumed in the struggles of politics or in the desk of the advocate. There is no local colouring, or local administrative life. It is threatened with a total absorption of its historic and ethnographic characteristics.—'The Modern Antichrist.' Since 1860, 'I do not know a single philosopher who may have corrupted, and in a manner so little visible, so many young souls,' as José Ernest Renán. 'Renán, this man who lives to-day in Paris, is not a single man: he is a legion.'—In marked contrast to the Augustinian's attack upon Renán, is Adolfo Posado's continuation of 'The Literature of Social Science,' in which the writer shows himself thoroughly conversant with our latest and best writers.—'Why this discontent in the Army' is an extremely clever attack upon the reforms of General Cassola. The letters of Juan Valera on American subjects are more especially important when dealing with the conquest of America, and the contemporary evidence concerning it. A comparison between Greek realism and that of the Bible, leads us to a valuable historical, and antiquarian, as well as social, article on 'Guilds,' by J. Casan Alegre, in review of a work on those institutions, by Luis Tramoyeres Blasco.—'Review beyond the sea,' by V. Barrantes, treats of many subjects of interest to Spanish blood beyond sea. There is a magnanimity in the monument put up to the Spaniards by

the Argentine conquerors.—‘Honour to the conquerors and to the conquered!’

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA: REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (May 1890).—An admirable criticism of ‘The letters of William Humboldt to Carlota Diede’ leads off this number. It is subtle, just, and above all sympathetic. The selfish-control of a man who had not been immaculate is well indicated. ‘I would admire more the freedom of his genius if he had less freedom in his principles,’ said the famous Rachel of him. ‘Clear and cold as December soil,’ said Gœrres. Theophile Gautier has a most life-like picture of Heine, ‘in whose blue-eyes the light of inspiration sparkled,’ not as he was in the days of his darkness, but in the splendour of his youth.—An article ‘Proudhon and Courbet,’ by Zola, describes the capture of the artist by the Socialist, and reviews ‘The beginning of Art, its mission in Society,’ which he considers better entitled ‘The death of Art and its uselessness in Society.’—‘Democracy in Europe and America’ continues with acknowledged indebtedness to Bryce. The writer, Canovas del Castillo, observes that ‘What is known as public opinion, a simple momentary addition of parties, of those who usually remain indifferent, of the ill informed, of those who have never taken the trouble to judge of public affairs, is far from being a secure guide in most cases.’—‘The Spanish Woman’ is a reprint of four articles from the pen of Sra. Pardo Bazán, which appeared in English in the *Fortnightly*. It is instructive to learn what a Spanish lady thinks of her country-women.—‘The Modern Antichrist’ (Ernest Renán) is continued.—‘Letters to Juan Valera on American subjects’ is full of information, more especially throwing light on the Spanish conquest, and the condition of the native population, prior thereto.—‘Female Spanish Writers,’ the list is here concluded, and it is remarkable to find it so extensive, and amongst them so many writing on solid subjects. Quite an exceptional number have conducted journals. Spanish widows have notably conducted affairs with judgment.—‘Foreign Review’ devotes most space to African discovery. Comparing the first discovery of the Nile sources by unaided Spanish monks solely desirous of the spread of knowledge, with the *greed* of English discovery, it repeats stories of excessive cruelty to natives by the Blantyre missionaries. Altogether there is much glorification, even of the conquests of Cortes, compared with those of later African explorers.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (June)—Referring to Paul Ador’s ‘Jeschua von Nazara’ and Wallace’s ‘Ben-Hur,’ Professor Cort discusses

the conditions on which Jesus could be treated as the hero of a romance. The difficulty lies in the person of Jesus. The task of the artist is to show how his life developed itself naturally, for Professor Cort would have him throw off the 'old' supernaturalism. A second difficulty is to show Jesus in intercourse with other men without degrading or, on the other hand, without making him unnatural. He must not shrink from allowing Jesus to make mistakes, of policy, for example—the greatest difficulty is to depict the inner spiritual life of Jesus. Professor Cort considers that these difficulties are not insuperable, though neither Ador nor Wallace has been successful, nor has Renan. As pictures and statues of Christ have been successes, so there is no reason why a historical romance, with him for hero, should not be, only no one has yet been found equal to the task.—'Consanguineous Marriages,' by Professor G. A. Wilkin, is a highly interesting discussion of whether or not such marriages are detrimental to offspring. The modern idea that they are, is shown to be unfounded in cases where parents are healthy, and the robustness of uncivilized tribes, where consanguinity is not regarded as a bar to marriage, proves also the opposite. The customs of these tribes show that the existing laws against such marriages did not originate in a conviction that they were injurious to offspring, but in quite other considerations. There are, however, strong reasons in favour of the existing feeling in regard to such unions.—A review of Tolstoi's 'La Sonate à Kreutzer' contains interesting discussion of his views about marriage.—Other articles are 'Guy de Maupassant,' by J. E. Sachse, and 'A French Student on Modern French Novels.'—There is also a historical article on the troubles in Batavia in December, 1795.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT (May).—Dr. Matthes contributes a very interesting study on the 'Origin and Consequences of Sin according to the Old Testament.' The Old Testament view of the origin of sin may possibly be either—1, That God is the author of it, as where He is said to harden Pharaoh's heart; or 2, that the serpent, identified later with the devil, is the author of it; or 3, that is due to the weak and defective nature of man as made of flesh. Dr. Matthes adopts the third view, and argues that man's defective nature does not involve that God is the author of his infirmities, since God in the Old Testament does not create matter but only forms it; and in making man could only do the best He could with defective resources. Dr. Matthes allows at the same time, that the other views of the origin of sin find their place in the Old Testament. The consequences of sin are external. The Old Testament does not teach, Dr. Matthes

holds, that death came into the world by sin, but only the shortening of human life, which would otherwise have been much longer. Death, according to the Old Testament, is an inseparable incident to human existence, to which the Hebrew mind was quite reconciled. The Hebrews regarded death as natural, as belonging to human nature, and never dreamed that things could be otherwise. The texts in the Psalms, where the Hebrews are held to have aspired after immortality, are examined, and Dr. Matthes thinks he shows that they do not express any such hope. Death was a matter of course in the world from the first, and the connection between death and sin is a fruit not of early but of later Jewish and of Christian thought.—The chair occupied by the late Dr. Rauwenhoff in the University of Leiden has been filled with a teacher who does not, like his predecessor, and the great surviving lights of Leiden, belong to the Modern School, but is orthodox. Dr. Gunning's opening lecture is accordingly discussed in the *Tijdschrift*, and Dr. Slotemaker, who 'goes for' him in an article of twenty-four pages, lays bare all that the Moderns regard as the weaknesses of the orthodox position. The lecture is entitled 'The science of Religion on the basis of the belief of the Church,' and the reviewer shows that the name of science cannot be allowed to an enquiry so described. Nowhere is the miracle controversy now waged with such ardour and acuteness as in Holland; the denial of the possibility of miracle is the distinctive article of the Modern School, and their battle with their orthodox opponents is fought upon this ground. The nominee of the Church in Holland seeking at Leiden to reconcile the claims of the Church's creed with those of free theological inquiry, and setting up other first principles than those which science can allow, is a figure certainly to move our wonder and pity.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR FROM LORD ROSEBERY.

EDINBURGH,
JUNE 9, 1890.

SIR,

I only saw yesterday your April number containing a paper on 'The Limits of Scottish Home Rule.'

In that article much play is justifiably made on the hypothesis that I said in a speech at Glasgow that a certain pamphlet was 'The Charter of Scottish Home Rule.' What I did say was 'A Charter of Scottish Home Rule,' and I meant by that that it would be one of the earliest and most important documents in the History of the Scottish Home Rule movement. Of course '*The Charter*' has a very different meaning.

I made this explanation at the time in a letter to a member of The Scottish Home Rule League, assuming that it would be published: but it has remained in unexpected seclusion.

I therefore hope, as the article in your *Review* preserves the article in some permanence of form, that you will be so good as to place a contradiction of the misprint in your next issue; and I am,

Sir,

Yours respectfully,

ROSEBERY.

The Editor of The Scottish Review.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Original Notes on the Book of Proverbs, according to the Authorized Version. By the Rev. S. C. MALAN, D.D. Vol. I. London: Williams & Norgate. 1889.

The notes here furnished by Dr. Malan are not critical notes, nor are they, in the usual sense, at least, expository. They are perhaps more valuable than if they had been either. In a short preface, he discusses the question of the Hebrew title of the book, its meaning and its applicability to the contents of the book, but the notes are simply a series of passages gathered from a great variety of Eastern writers, Indian, Persian, Arabic, etc., of all ages, which express thoughts or truths similar to those found in the 'Proverbs.' Verse by verse is taken, and under each is given these illustrative 'gleanings from the east country,' as Dr. Malan calls them, and they form in this way a very interesting commentary on the text. We are shewn how other sages in many other lands thought and expressed very similar truths to those in ancient Israel, and so are helped to grasp more clearly the truths themselves in their many-sided aspects. The title, 'Original Notes,' has been given, we suppose, to these gleanings, not because they are original to Dr. Malan, but because he has drawn them direct from the writers quoted. This volume carries on the illustrative selections as far as the end of chapter ix., and no one can read them without admiring Dr. Malan's industry, patience, and perseverance in collecting them, and in arranging them so appropriately as he has done, and all, we feel sure, will be grateful to him for enriching our literature with them.

Opposites: a Series of Essays on the Unpopular Sides of Popular Questions. By LEWIS THORNTON. Edinburgh & London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1890.

If, as Emerson says, the truth must always be sought in minorities, the author of this series of very able and brilliant essays must certainly be recognised as standing on the side of truth. That he stands among a minority there can be no doubt. There is scarcely one of the popular theories of the day or one of its approved fads which he does not oppose and subject to the most scathing and damaging criticism. He has been endowed, he somewhat humourously informs us, with a sort of 'contradictory or "upside-down" mind, which, directly it is presented with any of the numerous current life-theories offered in explanation of the social problems of the day, flies off at a tangent to look at its opposite side and pick holes in it.' An intellect of this sort may be very annoying to others, and anything but comfortable to its owner, yet it is not without its use. Mr. Thornton has used his to good effect. One need not agree with all he says. To do so, in fact, is impossible. Emerson's dictum is not beyond question. Minorities, even the most enlightened, may be wrong. But Mr. Thornton has dealt searchingly, and with a skill not often surpassed, with such theories as Evolution, Socialism, and Spiritualism, and pointed out many flaws in them. His criticism of the last with its related ideas is especially trenchant. To a certain class of spiritualists, he will, we should say, after they have read his book, be as objectionable as the Apostle to

the Gentiles is. Scarcely less objectionable will his essay on 'The Ancient Religions of the Future,' as he somewhat paradoxically entitles it, be to Theosophists. Of course, there is a strong vein of conservatism running throughout the essays. Especially is this the case in the essay entitled 'Gods and Women,' in which Mr. Thornton deals with the Women's Rights question, and deprecates the idea of women being put forward on platforms, allowed to take part in public affairs, or placed on an absolute equality in all things with men. As a proof of the increasing influence of what he calls 'these female equality ideas' on society, he adduces the fact that so conservative a body as the Senatus of a Scotch University has selected a lady as one of its teachers of elocution, and exclaims: 'Elocution of all things! a woman to teach men the art of public speaking!' and then proceeds to say, 'St. Paul's opinion on this proceeding, or St. Peter's, or the opinion of any decent pagan, would not have been dubious. Indeed, the admonition in Tit. ii. 5, that women should be "keepers at home and obedient to their own husbands," is followed by the strange words, "that the word of God be not blasphemed";—query, that Christianity be not brought into contempt among the pagans, by the inversion of a natural order which even pagans would not think of violating?' But if we add that Mr. Thornton as a rule falls back on the teaching of Scripture for his first principles, and that throughout his book there is a strong plea for a return to a more genuine and robust and simple Christianity than is now generally in vogue, we shall have said enough to show what the character of his essays is. We do not commit ourselves to the acceptance of all he says or to all his arguments; but we cannot but admit that he has said a great deal that will strike many as both new and true, and that his book will do much to clear the intellectual atmosphere of not a few unhealthy elements and to set those a-thinking who are in the habit of receiving the newest theories as gospels.

Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore. Edited with a Translation, Notes, and Indices by WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L. (Anecdota Oxoniensia). Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1890.

In the edition of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick which he prepared for the 'Rolls' Series' and issued not more than three years ago, Dr. Whitley Stokes showed with admirable skill the excellent service which the old Lives of the Saints may be made to render, not simply in the cause of ecclesiastical history, but also in throwing light upon the social, intellectual and political conditions of the times in which they were written, and which, but for these quaint and singular narratives, sometimes consisting of little more than apparently worthless stories of impossible miracles, very little would be known. He has, of course, had predecessors in the same line, and among his countrymen one can never forget, in this connection, the splendid services which have been rendered by such writers as O'Curry and Reeves. He may be said, however, to stand with the best of them, while the clearer and more systematic methods he has adopted, together with the larger advantages he has been privileged to use, may perhaps entitle him to be regarded in some respects as superior. In the volume before us the same method has been adopted as in the work previously mentioned, and with like good results. One part which cannot fail to be acceptable to a wide circle of readers as well as of students, is the description of that remarkably valuable miscellany of old Irish literature known as the Book of Lismore. References to it in works dealing with the saints, literature, or history of Ireland, are, as need hardly be said,

innumerable ; yet, strangely enough, until the appearance of the present volume, anything like an adequate account of its contents was nowhere to be found. Dr. Whitley Stokes has devoted some forty pages to a description of it, and has given in them copious extracts from the other parts of the MS. bearing more or less directly on the Lives. The Book was compiled from the lost Book of Monasterboice and other documents, towards the close of the fifteenth century, for Finghin mac Carthaigh Riabhach and his wife Catherine, daughter of Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, and on this account is sometimes called 'The Book of Mac Carthy Reagh.' It can boast of little in the way of ornament, and unlike some other great Irish MSS., is valuable simply for its contents. Of these the principal are the Lives here edited. The rest are chiefly of a religious cast, and consist for the most part of legends respecting certain saints and poems. There is a short tract on Antichrist ; a romantic Life of Charlemagne, founded apparently on the pseudo-Turpin ; a legend of King David, Solomon, and a beggar ; an abridgment of Marco Polo's travels ; a fragment of a quasi-historical tract on the Lombards ; an account of the Battle of Cooldrewny ; a copy of the Book of Rights ; a saga entitled Catto Crion ; and several other historical tales. 'Four pieces,' writes Dr. Stokes, 'mentioned by O'Curry (*Lectures*, p. 200) as contained in the Book of Lismore, I did not find. They are : 1, The Story of Petronilla, St. Peter's daughter ; 2, "The discovery of the Sibylline Oracle in a stone coffin at Rome" ; 3, An account "of some modifications of the minor ceremonies of the Mass" ; 4, An account "of the correspondence between Archbishop Lanfranc and the clergy of Rome." Nor does the MS. contain a Life of S. Finbarr, as stated in the Introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, i. cccxxii.' The three scribes who can be distinguished in the volume as its copyists—one of whom was a friar named O'Buagachain, and another a certain Aonghur O'Callaid,—after the manner of their craft, when copying the older MSS., as a rule, modernized the spelling and grammatical forms. Fortunately, however, they did not do this always. Occasionally they left the ancient spelling and the ancient endings of the noun and verb unchanged, and one of the most valuable parts of the volume are the forty pages which Dr. Stokes has devoted to an analysis of the language in which the Lives are here written. Scarcely less valuable are the long lists of words occurring in the text which have been borrowed from the Latin and other languages, and the remarkably full index of Irish words. But to turn to the Lives themselves, these are in all nine : the Lives of SS. Patrick, Columba, Bridgit, Senán, Finnian of Clonard, Findchua of Bri-Gobann, Breuainn, or Brandan, Ciarán, and Mochua of Balla. Dr. Stokes calls them homilies, and rightly, for they bear clear evidence of having been intended in the first place, like so many other similar remnants of antiquity, for public reading, though from the headings which two or three of them bear, the copies made of them into the Book of Lismore have quite as evidently been intended for private use. On the political history of Ireland they throw no new light ; nor do they on the personal history of the saints. The pedigrees and credible incidents in the lives of these latter are given elsewhere and in more trusty MSS. They are valuable for the new miracles they record, and especially for the details by which they are accompanied. These, whatever may be thought of the miracles they accompany, are at least authentic, and have for the student of the social condition of the ancient Irish and of their religious tenets and practices an especial value. How true this is may be seen from the third section of Dr. Stokes' introduction. There, adopting the same plan as in his edition of the Tripartite Life—a plan which, as he tells us, was suggested partly by Mr. Herbert Spencer in his work on Edu-

cation, but chiefly by Dr. Weise in his work on the Greek loan words in Latin—he has culled out such words in the Lives as give any indications of the social and religious condition of the times in which they were written, and carefully arranged them under various headings. With the help of these and the similar sections in the Introduction to the Tripartite Life it would not be difficult to reconstruct not only in outline but also with considerable detail the greater part of the daily and religious life of the ancient Irish. Here, of course, it would be out of place to attempt anything of the kind, but one or two instances may be given. Thus, from the classification referred to, we learn that among the foods of the ancient Irish were beef, pork, bacon, mutton, seal, salmon, butter, cheese, wheaten and barley bread, apples, blackberries, sloes; and among their drinks, water, milk, and water, ewe-milk, ale, mead, wine. Mantles were worn, sometimes purple and fivefold. Shirts were made of linen and of wool. Silks and satins were in use—the latter, it is said, will be worn by the wicked elders at the end of the world. Several kinds of shoes were used. Some appear to have indulged in the luxury of feather beds, but the saints usually slept on the ground with stones for their pillows. The most primitive mode of carriage was on the back of a human being; the usual mode, however, was in a wheeled vehicle drawn by a pair of horses, sometimes by one. By water, conveyance was in vessels built of wicker work covered with one or more layers of hide. Vessels built of wood are also mentioned. These were propelled by oars and paddles. Sails were often used. To the copious and not unscientific *materia medica* of the mediæval Irish, there is here no reference. Cures are mentioned as being effected by holy water, water drawn from holy wells, water in which the feet of a saint had been washed, by honey miraculously made out of water, by wheat made out of oats, by the sign of the Cross, a saint's word, prayer, blood, tears, touch, shadow, girdle. Two or three of the stories related in the Lives are apparently new; as, for instance, the story of Dichu in the Life of St. Patrick, and the story of the enchanted sword in the Life of St. Columba—a sword in whose presence it is said no one could die. In this latter Life it is said that when he blessed the island of Iona, St. Columba turned his face *westward*, whereas Adamnan's words are '*ad orientem suam convertens faciem.*' We have left no room to speak of the notes and of many other matters to which reference might be made. There is only one drawback to the perfect pleasure of reading the volume, and that is the long list of corrigenda at the end; but an opportunity, it is to be hoped, will soon arise for removing them into the text. But even with this, the work is one of the most valuable contributions not only to hagiology but also to the ancient history of Ireland recent years have produced.

The Stuart Dynasty: Short Studies of its Rise, Course, and Early Exile, the Latter drawn from Papers in Her Majesty's possession at Windsor Castle. By PERCY M. THORNTON. London: William Ridgway. 1890.

The most important part of this work is admittedly the Appendix, in which Mr. Thornton has published a selection from the Stuart Papers at Windsor. The papers included in the selection deal with the events which led up to the attempt of 1715, and though other papers from the same collection have been used or printed by previous historians, these have not. The greater part of the volume, however, is devoted to a narrative of the fortunes of the House of Stuart. The narrative does not profess to be a complete history of that celebrated and unfortunate House, but has been compiled by Mr. Thornton mainly for the

purpose of enabling the reader to fully appreciate and understand the papers he has thrown into his first Appendix. As a presentation of the history of the House of Stuart, this portion of the work has much to commend it. It traces its fortunes from its founder, Alan, the son of Flaald or Flathald, of Oswestry in Shropshire, down to the death of James VII., and is comparatively brief. Many things are passed over, and others are but slightly touched; but Mr. Thornton has selected his points with skill. His earlier chapters have an air of freshness due mainly to the fact that the beginnings of the Stuart dynasty have but rarely been dwelt upon. References to the original authorities for the facts here narrated would have been an advantage, but Mr. Thornton has contented himself with referring to Douglas, Stuart, and the histories of Henry, Tytler, and Burton—excellent authorities, no doubt, but with the wealth of charters and other original historical documents now accessible, somewhat out of date. In his subsequent chapters, more especially in those dealing with the Marian controversy and the struggle between Charles I. and the Parliament, Mr. Thornton by no means follows modern historians. Here he forms his own opinions, and neither accepts Mr. Henderson's theory about the Casket Letters, nor endorses all the later conclusions of Professor Rawson Gardiner regarding Charles I. As to Mr. Henderson's discovery of Morton's declaration concerning the finding of the Casket Letters, he very justly observes that it does not by any means settle the controversy, and argues with some force that not only were the signatories to Morton's official account of how he seized the casket men previously antagonistic to their sovereign, but the initial part of the story, to which Mr. Henderson barely alludes, is scarcely credible. 'If,' he says, 'Sir James Balfour, Governor of Edinburgh Castle, had desired to apprise Morton of the Casket and its contents being in danger of removal, he would have taken steps to detain Dagleish, Bothwell's servant (who came to claim his master's property), and not have waited to convey his information after the silver receptacle had been taken away, he knew not where, but really into a back street of populous Edinburgh, called Potter Row. Nor would Sir James Balfour have stood in great danger of Bothwell's future enmity and consequent revenge, if the seizure had been effected inside the Castle instead of outside of it. An enemy he was certain henceforth to be considered.' Mr. Thornton, however, has nothing new to add to assist in the unravelling of the mystery. In his last chapter, Mr. Thornton makes use of the letters he has printed, and here he is able to throw considerable light on the more obscure parts of the movements of the time, and to show how matters matured in secret for the attempt of 1715, and how that attempt was rendered abortive. The papers number one hundred and twenty-eight, and consist chiefly of letters which passed between the Duke of York, the Cardinal of Norfolk, the Chevalier de St. George, the Duke of Berwick, the Marquess of Huntly, the Earls of Mar and Perth, Lords Lovat, Kilsyth, Southesk, and Bolingbroke, and Mr. Dicconson, the treasurer at St. Germain's. For the history of Scotland during the period these documents are of special interest; nor are they of less importance for the light they throw on the conduct of some of the leading political characters in England at the time, and on the dangers which were then threatening the Hanoverian dynasty.

Scottish National Memorials: A Record of the Historical and Archaeological Collection in the Bishop's Castle, Glasgow, 1888. Edited by JAMES PATON. Glasgow: J. Maclehose & Sons. 1890.

As a rule, Exhibitions, whether international or otherwise, after during

for a while, pass away and leave nothing behind them to tell of their existence. In one respect the International Exhibition which was held in Glasgow a couple of years ago, promises to be an exception to this. In the very handsome volume before us, we have a substantial memorial of part of it, and, if Keats be right, it will probably give pleasure to other generations than our own. Of the printer's and engraver's art it is an excellent specimen, deserving the highest praise, and forming in itself an illustration of the progress which has been made in the various processes connected with the production of books. It reminds one strongly of the Catalogue which was issued at the time of the Bishop's Castle, and is in some respects simply an enlarged edition of it; still there is an interest attaching to it which is more than local or temporary, while its suggestiveness and historical and antiquarian worth will probably cause it to be appreciated as long as antiquarian and historical studies are pursued, or any national or historical feeling remains. It is not a book which easily lends itself to the purpose of review, and the critic is at some loss how to deal with it. For one thing, there is a want of argument about it. In fact, with the exception of the great and indisputable argument that Scotland has had a long and chequered history reaching back into the dimest antiquity, and that here are some of its records, it has none. Besides, within the space allotted to them, both the editor and his accomplished contributors have done their work so well that it is difficult to find fault with it. And again, it contains such a wealth of material, as the eye passes over its pages the mind is sent wandering over so many fields of history, and incident after incident is conjured up before it with such confusing rapidity, that it is only by resolutely closing the book and fixing the attention upon one or two of its memorials, that one can be at leisure to think about them in anything like a connected and consecutive way. Over a volume like this, in fact, one could ponder and gossip by the hour, while for its complete elucidation a pretty complete historical and antiquarian library would be needed. But to pass to the contents of the volume. They are distributed into five sections; 1. Scottish Archæology; 2. Historical and Personal Relics; 3. Scottish Literature; 4. Burghal Memorials; and 5. Scottish Life. The descriptions in the first of these sections are contributed by Sir Arthur Mitchell and Dr. Joseph Anderson. In the second, the early Scottish historical and personal relics are dealt with by the editor. The Rev. J. Stevenson, S. J., and Mr. John Gray contribute the articles on the various objects connected with Queen Mary, while the last named writer gives an account of her fervid, if not always gracious, opponent, John Knox. Mr. D. Hay Fleming deals with the Memorials of the Union, and Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan with those especially pertaining to the Jacobite period. Dr. David Murray takes the chief part of the section devoted to Scottish Literature, while the section on Burghal Memorials is mainly from the hand of the editor, who is also the chief contributor under the heading Scottish Life. The articles on Jewelry, Highland Brooches, Gold in Scotland, Scottish Plate, Archery, and Communion Tokens, are by Mr. A. J. S. Brook, and that on Torture and Punishment by Professor J. Ferguson. From this enumeration it will be seen that the field covered by the volume is very extensive and varied, and that its pages bear out all that we have said as to their suggestiveness. While many of the objects figured upon them are memorials of personages more or less notable who have played a conspicuous part in the history of the country, others of them are indicative of the intellectual, social, and religious life of the nation at different periods of its development. It is impossible here to enumerate even a tenth part of the objects described; but we may remark that the descriptions are brief and lucid, and that where requisite the

writers have not scrupled to sacrifice tradition for the sake of historical accuracy. The illustrations are both numerous and excellent.

Ireland under the Tudors, with a succinct Account of the Earlier History. By RICHARD BAGWELL, M.A. Vol. III. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.

Mr. Bagwell here concludes his elaborate account of the history of Ireland under the Tudors. The earlier volumes were noticed in the pages of this *Review* at the time of their appearance. The present volume is distinguished by the same excellent features, and concludes a very meritorious work. Pleasant reading it cannot be said to be; not, however, on account of the style in which the narrative is written, for that is all that can be desired, but because of the subject. A more pitiable condition of things it is seldom the lot of an historian to describe. From first to last, as we read the story, we are brought face to face with misery, treachery, battle and murder and sudden death. Each chapter, with the exception of change of names and places, is little more than the repetition of the other. During the whole period, in fact, the entire country, at least if the chiefs may be taken as its representatives, was in a chronic state of rebellion. No sooner is one rising put down than another begins. The poverty of the English Crown, as Mr. Bagwell puts it, was no doubt largely answerable for this. It may be questioned, however, whether things would have been otherwise even if Elizabeth had been in possession of larger resources. She was always for half measures and cheese-pairing. Deputies whose instructions were usually 'to increase the revenue without oppressing the subjects, to reduce the army without impairing its efficiency, to punish rebels without driving them to desperation, and to reward loyal people without cost to the Crown,' were certainly well and discreetly instructed, but when they were backed up neither with men nor money, and were nevertheless expected to put down wide-spread and often popular rebellions, they could scarcely fail to have recourse to oppressive and cruel measures. Their office was no sinecure, and no wonder that many of them failed. More liberality on the part of Elizabeth would in all probability have brought the strife to a speedy conclusion. Nor was she altogether without the means. Her parsimony seems to have prevented her from realizing the actual state of affairs; and her treatment of the country, which says little for her sagacity, is one of the great blots on a reign which, in some respects, is one of the greatest in English history. The blame, however, was not hers alone. A great deal must be put down to the character of the Irish chiefs, to the change which was gradually sweeping over the whole of Europe and affecting its social and political institutions, and to the ignorance and prepossessions of the times. 'The history of Ireland,' Mr. Bagwell very justly observes, 'would have been quite different had it been possible for England to govern her as she has governed India—by scientific administrators, who tolerate all creeds and respect all prejudices. But no such machinery, nor even the idea of it, then existed, and nothing seemed possible but to crush the rebellion by destroying the means of resistance. It was famine that really ended the Tyrone war, and it was caused as much by internecine quarrels among the Irish as by the more systematic blood-letting of Mountjoy and Carew.' Religion also had much to do with the miserable condition of affairs. It has sometimes been said that under the Tudors at least this was not the case. But there are few things which come out more clearly in Mr. Bagwell's narrative than that it was 'the energy and devotion of the friars and Jesuits that made the people resist,' and that 'it was Spanish or papal

gold that enabled the chiefs to keep the field.' For the proofs of this we need only refer the reader to Mr. Bagwell's chapters on the rebellion of Fitzmaurice and the Desmond war, or to the mission of Nicholas Sanders. The story which Mr. Bagwell has to tell is, as we have said, not pleasant reading, though here and there one comes across a story of gallantry or pathos, as for instance that of Captain Cuellar in the chapter on the Invincible Armada. It is also very tangled; but Mr. Bagwell has threaded his way through it with skill. The literary merits of his work indeed are very considerable, while as a contribution to Irish history, written in a candid and impartial spirit and drawn from the most authentic sources, it deserves to rank high and, at the present juncture, to be widely and carefully read.

Devia Cypria: Notes of an Archaeological Journey in Cyprus in 1888. By D. G. HOGARTH, M.A. Map and Illustrations. London: H. Frowde. 1889.

When the other members of the company sent out in 1887 by the then newly-founded Exploration Fund to conduct archaeological researches in the island of Cyprus, left the island in the summer of 1888 to return to Athens or England, Mr. Hogarth remained behind to carry out a plan he had formed some months before of exploring those districts of Cyprus which had been less frequently or less systematically examined by the archaeologist, and in the thin and admirably written octavo volume before us, he has recorded the results of his journeys and research. The interest of the volume is for the most part antiquarian and historical; yet it is by no means wanting in other attractions, containing incidental notes on the character of the island and of the people, as well as on other points of interest. The districts visited and examined were the Papho district and the Carpass, and, speaking generally, Mr. Hogarth may be said to have been fortunate enough to make a number of discoveries of more or less importance, and to have opened out, it is to be hoped, the way for further and yet more searching examinations. Mr. Hogarth first turned his attention to the Papho district and has given an interesting account of the present condition of Old and New Papho, together with a brief sketch of the history of the district. In the course of his researches among the graves belonging to New Papho at the bluffs of Ktima, notwithstanding that it is scarcely possible to find among them a single unrifled tomb, he was able to secure several hitherto unpublished inscriptions, one of which adds another to the meagre list of Roman Governors of Cyprus, and supplies a curious instance of the farming of a province among a family. At Cape Deprano, as at several other places, he was able to correct some of the statements of General di Cesnola. According to the Italian General, there are no remains of ancient buildings in the neighbourhood of the tombs at Cape Deprano, and the church there is situated some two hundred yards to the east of the tombs. Mr. Hogarth, however, found a mass of ruins, about a quarter of a mile square, close above the tombs and the church about fifty yards to the south of them. At Agios Konon, ten miles to the north of Lipati, where are the ruins of a large village, boasting a perennial holy spring, Mr. Hogarth came across the foundations of one of the smallest churches in existence, the whole dimensions being 14 feet by 7 feet. Both Cypriote and Western tradition have placed the celebrated Fontana Amorosa of Ariosto in the Papho district, though each of them has fixed upon a different spring. Mr. Hogarth identifies it with the present Βρύσις των Ερωτών, where the natives say Aphrodite wedded Acamas. At the same time he points out that the tradition is wrong: Ariosto's real

Fontana Amorosa being the magic spring in the Forest of Arden, twin with the Fount of Hate, and the Cyprian spring being rather the Fontana di Venere. Of the site of the Βρύσις των Ερωτών, Mr. Hogarth gives a very charming description, and says 'the traveller, whose eyes have seen only the rock and scrub of waterless Cyprus, seems in an enchanted scene, not seeing from whence the water comes, and he ceases to wonder that native fancy has peopled the spot with legendary lives, and that sailors carried westward vague reports of its beauties to the ears of Ariosto.' On his way Mr. Hogarth visited the great monastery of Chrysaorgiatissa, and ransacked its library, but found only a vellum MS. of the Gospels, looking not older than the fourteenth century. Other monasteries visited were those of St. Neophytus, Kykko and Machaeras. A passing visit was also paid to the ancient copper mines. From the mediæval settlement of Aschelia we have two photographs of its carved woodwork, which is among the finest in the island. Passing over into the Carpass, Mr. Hogarth entered upon what proved the most interesting part of his journey. The district has rarely been visited, and still more rarely have its antiquities been described. Pococke visited it, and gave some account of its remains. More recently it has been visited by others; and Sir Samuel Baker and Mrs. Scott-Stevenson have given some account of it. But from an archaeological point of view, Mr. Hogarth's may be said to be the fullest account of the district. In the course of his journey he visited with very few exceptions every village and hamlet in the district, and has given succinct and lucid descriptions of its tombs, churches, and monoliths. He has also reproduced a number of inscriptions, most of them, unfortunately, of a very fragmentary sort. With Dr. Guillemard, he regards the monoliths near Kuklia and the forty similar ones scattered throughout Cyprus as the remains of presses, whose use the modern Cypriote has forgotten. The monoliths at Akrotiri in the Vallia, on the other hand, he holds to be Phœnician. To a similar origin he also refers the rock tombs of Elisis and Galinoporni. It is impossible here, however, to refer to even a tenth part of the objects Mr. Hogarth describes. Open his book where we may, it is always interesting and instructive. It contains nothing of the usual staple of books of travel; in fact it is wholly destitute of moving accidents by flood and field. All the same, it is not less entertaining than informing, and forms a valuable contribution to our knowledge of one of the places where the Greek and the Mahomedan spirit freely met, and where, notwithstanding the crushing tyranny of the latter, the traces of old Greek and Byzantine life are not yet altogether obliterated.

An Introduction to the Local Constitutional History of the United States. By GEORGE E. HOWARD, Professor of History in the University of Nebraska. Vol. I. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University. 1889.

At the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, considerable attention is paid to the study of constitutional history, and, as our readers are aware, a series of monographs dealing with the subject has during the past eight years been issuing from its press. The monographs are still in process of publication, and promise when completed to form an exceedingly valuable source of information respecting the local and political institutions of the United States. Contributed by many hands, they exhibit, as might be expected, varying degrees of ability, but each of them is replete with interesting facts respecting the origin and development of the institutions with which they deal. In the present work, Professor Howard appears to be making use of the facts thus brought together, for the purpose of writ-

ing a connected treatise on the local institutions of the Great Republic. Any how, we have here the first volume of a work which, so far as it goes, gives, in a condensed form, yet in a very lucid way, an account of the origin and development of those institutions, and is entitled to be regarded as the first instalment of a valuable introduction to the study of a vast and important subject. So far, Professor Howard deals with the development of the township, hundred, and shire. The original germ from which all the forms of political organism have been evolved, he, of course, finds in the family, and then proceeds to deal with the origin and characteristics of the clan, mark, township, tithing, manor and parish, civil and ecclesiastical. Afterwards, in a series of three chapters, he treats of the various forms of the township in the United States, beginning with the township of New England and ending with the newer townships of the Western States. The origin of the various forms of the institutions is described, and their points of difference are noticed. A number of paragraphs are devoted to the officers of the township and their duties. The fifth chapter narrates the history of the hundred, together with its rise and decay in the American colonies; while the sixth and four following chapters deal with the shire. Here it is impossible to enter upon any elaborate criticism of the work; but it may be said that to the majority of students of constitutional history it opens up an almost entirely new field of study, and will repay the most patient study. Not the least interesting facts in the volume are often to be found in the elaborate and numerous notes at the foot of the pages. The list of authorities cited fills no fewer than twenty-four octavo pages. The volume is supplied with an ample index.

London Pictures drawn with Pen and Pencil. By the Rev. R. LOVETT, M.A. London: Religious Tract Society. 1890.

London is not all the world, but all the world takes an interest in it, and Mr. Lovett's book will find a wide circle of readers wherever the English tongue is used. Very wisely he has not attempted too much. Large parts of the great city he has left untouched, and has confined himself to an attempt to give an accurate and brief sketch of the present condition and past history of London in relation to such subjects as civic and commercial life, the Tower, ecclesiastical and governmental buildings, legal and literary life. Each of these, as he himself remarks, has a library of its own, and his own treatment of them could not be otherwise than comparatively slight; yet, that he has treated them as well as they could be in the limits assigned to him, there can scarcely be two opinions. His pen sketches are brief and graphic, and being chiefly historical or biographical, full of popular interest, while the illustrations are both abundant, well-chosen, and of their kind excellent. The book, as we have said, is sure of a multitude of readers, and the issue of a companion volume can scarcely be a matter of uncertainty.

Golf. By HORACE G. HUTCHINSON. Illustrated (Badminton Library). London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1890.

Mr. Hutchinson has secured the assistance of Lord Wellwood, Sir Walter Simpson, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Andrew Lang, and other well-known adepts or students of the ancient and royal game. His book has more the appearance of a collection of papers than of a regular treatise, and yet there is a method running through it that binds the various parts together, and makes it about as complete and readable and instructive a manual of the old and now extremely fashionable game as one can desire.

One excellent feature of the book is the absence of fads. 'Professionals,' like 'specialists,' are apt to have theories, and we all know the result. Mr. Hutchinson and his contributors are all men of liberal culture, and too wide awake not to know that there are rules and wrinkles in the game which, though they may suit the idiosyncrasies of one piece of human mechanism, are not suited for another, and that if tried by some, they are as likely as not to end in failure. Some broad and simple principles there are of course which must be attended to by all; but when these are mastered, the best thing is for the amateur to find out his own best mode of putting them into practice. This is very much the idea underlying Mr. Hutchinson's excellent chapter on elementary instruction. Training, of course, he insists upon, but of rules, hard and fast, he is sparing, and wisely so. For the most part he confines himself to showing how things ought not to be done, and to giving hints and suggestions as to how they may be and have been done. And a wise Mentor he is. A careful study of his chapter is likely to be of much more service than the talk of a dozen candid friends or even caddies. One thing has always to be borne in mind by the amateur, and that is, that while a few have a genius for golf, most can learn to play it easily and well only by continued practice. Mr. Hutchinson has also an excellent chapter on style. This is not so much a matter of taste as might be supposed. Still here, as in most things else, style and naturalness, we imagine, go together. Some men have no 'style,' yet are by no means indifferent players. The best style is of course that which wins, and few sensible golfers care very little whether their style is good or bad so long as it leads to the desired result. Still a graceful naturalness in playing is always pleasant to see, while imitation is little more than a vice. Some of the remaining chapters—there are seventeen in all—are for the golfer very delectable reading. Such, for instance, are Lord Wellwood's, in which he makes what he terms some 'general remarks on the game'; and Mr. A. J. Balfour's, on the humour of golf; and Mr. Hutchinson's, on caddies. Sir Walter Simpson's chapter, on 'Out of Form,' will be found good reading after a bad day's play—a little comforting and encouraging both to the amateur and to the adept, and not less to the former than to the latter, for whose special benefit it has been written. Altogether the volume is just the one to make the golfer's fingers tingle for his clubs, and to send him to the green with a steadier head. It ends with a list of golfing terms, which is the most complete we have seen.

FICTION.

Charles Franklyn of the Camel Corps (Smith, Elder), by Hasmbib, is a one volume novel of London life and African adventure and romance. It is full of stirring incident, often of the most startling and thrilling kind, more especially in the African part, where Charles Franklyn, an officer in the celebrated Camel Corps, is taken prisoner by the Soudanese, has an interview with the Mahdi, and after a series of hairbreadth escapes manages to elude his captors and to reappear in London. The book is well written, and ought to make its mark.

The Rajah's Heir, 3 vols. (Smith, Elder), is a strange and exciting book. The scene is cast mainly in India during the Mutiny. From beginning to end it holds the attention, and has a wealth of incident sufficient to set up a whole Minerva press. But the most striking thing about the book is its philosophy, which is new and weird, a thorough Asian mystery or theosophy. The hero, the Rajah's heir, has a sort of two selves, or rather he has his own self, and from time to time is taken possession of by that of the dead Rajah whose property he inherits. The two, so to say, fight for

the mastery over him, and from time to time he is transformed from an English gentleman into an Indian prince in so complete a manner that even his English friends fail to recognise him. His inner struggles are delineated with rare skill, and invest him with a strange interest. As for incidents, the book, as we have said, abounds in them, and as most of them arise out of the Mutiny, it need hardly be said that they are all of the most exciting description. The work is anonymous, but whoever the author is, he has written with great skill and effect.

The Ring of Amasis (Macmillan) is the reproduction of a story written by Lord Lytton some six and twenty years ago. In this country it has long been forgotten, but in the United States it has been frequently reprinted, and has enjoyed a large measure of popularity. As it now appears, however, it is substantially a new work; the story has been recast, and every page of the original work rewritten. Both as a romance and as a psychological study it will repay perusal. There is a strange, almost weird, fascination about it.

Silken Threads (Alex. Gardner), by the author of *Mr. and Mrs. Morton*, is a detective story—the story of a mysterious crime and the discovery of its author. Bryce Barclay is about to be married, and is unexpectedly found dead in his chair. He bears no marks of personal violence, and the only apparent clue to the murderer consists of a piece or two of gravel and a shred of silk. The cause of death, in fact, is a profound mystery, and the problem of the story is discovery of the criminal. The author has certainly exhibited great skill, and makes the detectives employed on the case exhibit a very considerable amount of ingenuity. There is no lack of interest about the book, and not until the last chapter or so is any inkling allowed to escape as to who the real criminal is.

It strikes us that Miss F. Mabel Robinson has written better novels than her 'Every Day Story,' *A Woman of the World* (Smith, Elder). There is much in it which is of every day occurrence, and there is much, also, we will venture to say, which is not. The plot, such as it is, is well managed, and here and there are passages of considerable power. But two deaths from consumption and somewhat elaborate descriptions of them within the compass of three volumes is rather too much. At the same time, there is not a single character in the story for whom one can feel anything like unmixed admiration. Young Harrington, who seems to be intended as the hero, though in possession of admirable parts, wants common sense. Devotion is good, but unless it be tempered with prudence and self-control, it cannot make a hero. The *Woman of the World* and her husband are undoubtedly well drawn, but then were they worth spending three volumes over? The rules we imagine still hold that in Art the main subject is the good or true, and that the not good and false are to be used only as accessories.

SHORT NOTICES.

Dr. Farrar's *Lives and Times of the Minor Prophets* and Canon Rawlinson's *Isaac and Jacob* are the two most recent additions to Messrs. Nisbet's 'Men of the Bible' series. In the first, four preliminary chapters discuss the general characteristics of Hebrew prophecy, the writings of the prophets, the chronological order of the prophets, and their character as spiritual teachers. These chapters are replete with information, and are remarkable for breadth of treatment. In the remaining chapters, Dr. Farrar deals with the times, characters, and writings of the so-called Minor Prophets. To deal with these in a couple of hundred

pages is no easy matter, but Dr. Farrar has managed to deal with them in a way which, whether one agrees with his opinions or not, one cannot help admiring. He has brought to his task an immense store of learning, which enables him to throw light on many an obscure point, and to do something towards making these precious and interesting remains more easily understood. Canon Rawlinson's volume is a learned yet popular account of the two patriarchs, Isaac and Jacob, and contains in a small compass most that is known, or can be, respecting the lives and surroundings of these two great figures of the Old Testament.

In *After the Exile, Part II.*, (Oliphant & Anderson) the Rev. P. Hay Hunter continues his chapters on the history and literature of the Jews during that little known period which intervened between the Captivity and the Advent of our Lord. Here also, as in his previous volume, he throws upon it all the light which modern research can supply. Beginning with the coming of Ezra he continues the story down to the outbreak of the Samaritan Schism, and shows the various influences which were at work to give rise to it. The parts played both by Ezra and Nehemiah and their opponents are vividly sketched, while the chapter devoted to the books of Ruth and Jonah will be regarded by most as the freshest in the volume.

Though written from a Catholic point of view, the Rev. J. Maclauchlin's little work, *Is One Religion as Good as Another?* (Burns and Oates), contains much that deserves the serious attention of all Christians, and not less of those who have abandoned the Christian Faith. It is directed against that spirit of indifferentism which is proving itself religion's most fatal enemy, and in opposing which Cardinal Newman has spent the greater part of his life. Mr. Maclauchlin, of course, puts in a strong plea for his own Church, but, as he also points out, inasmuch as it is a matter which is affecting not only Catholicism, but Protestantism as well, the question he discusses is one in which every section of Christendom has the profoundest interest. Whether he is right in saying that the spirit of indifferentism is the offspring of the Church of England, and in not looking for its origin in causes which lie deeper than any form of religion, is a question we do not care to discuss. What we are concerned with here is the book as literature, and from this point of view we can say that the work is well done, and deserving of the popularity it has obtained.

The Sweet Singers of Wales, by H. Elvet Lewis (Religious Tract Society), contains a series of brief biographies of the best known of the Welsh hymn-writers, with copious translations of their verses. The biographies are extremely interesting, sufficiently so, in fact, to make one desire to know more about their subjects, while the translations afford abundant proof of the ability of the Welsh hymn-writers to write poems which are really hymns. Some of the specimens here given, are, even in translation, admirable. Mr. Lewis, judging from the samples we meet with in his volume, does not exaggerate when he says of some of the Welsh hymns, 'they are hymns of the heart, everywhere touched with a light and pleasant fancy. From first to last, they preserve a general feature of picturesqueness. Almost every verse is a transcript from Nature—spiritualized and illuminated.'

The memorial volume, *Professor Elmslie, D.D.: Memoir and Sermons* (Hodder & Stoughton), has been prepared by Dr. W. R. Nicoll and Mr. A. N. Maenicol; and a very bright and pleasant volume it is. Dr. Nicoll has written the Memoir. The material from which it is drawn is, we are told, abundant, and we are glad to learn that further use is to be made of

it. From the account here given of him, brief as it is, there seems to be abundant reason for believing that the *Life of Professor Elmslie* is well worth writing. Dr. Nicoll's narrative is done with great skill, and shows the Professor to have been a man of a large heart, varied experience, and great natural abilities. His sermons, those at least which are here printed, are simple, earnest, practical, often eloquent, and always instructive.

In *Modern Ideas of Evolution as related to Revelation and Science* (Religious Tract Society) Sir J. W. Dawson carries on his controversy against the popularly accepted theory of creation. This, as he points out, is by no means invulnerable and far from satisfactory as a theory of origins. Of the authority with which he is entitled to speak as a man of science we need say nothing, but as a popular statement of the case against evolution, and from the point of view of religion, the volume is well worth reading.

Stones from the Quarry (Macmillan) is a volume of miscellaneous sermons by the Rev. Robert Vaughan, of which the most remarkable is the first. It was preached at Christ Church, Gateshead, in September 1889, on the occasion of the visit of the British Association for the Promotion of Science to Newcastle-on-Tyne. Taking some words of Lord Armstrong's referring to evolution and the capability of the framework of organisation to adapt itself to its environment, the author proceeds to develop his own theory of matter and the universe. We have not space here to follow him, but we may say that his theory is ingenious and well worth reading. The rest of the sermons are plain expositions of evangelical truth, in which the hortative style is frequently adopted.

The aim of the Rev. A. Scott Matheson's *The Gospel and Modern Substitutes* (Oliphant & Anderson) is to unfold the inexhaustible fulness of the gospel of Christ in relation to those modern creeds which contest its supremacy and claim to supersede it. The 'substitutes' Mr. Matheson discusses are Agnosticism, Science, Positivism, Socialism, Pessimism, and Art. His treatment of them is expository and sympathetic, rather than critical and depreciatory. The critical, however, is not absent, and if here and there the author errs on the side of sympathy, he does not fail to lay hold of the defects in the systems he opposes, and to show how what is best in them is to be found in Christianity or has received its inspiration from it. The sermons—for we suppose they originally were sermons, though the orthodox passage of Scripture at the beginning is omitted—are popularly written, and couched in forcible and often picturesque language.

General Metaphysics (Longmans), by the Rev. J. Rickaby, S. J., is a further addition to the Stonyhurst series of 'Manuals of Catholic Philosophy.' Father Rickaby very justly complains of the disrepute into which metaphysics have fallen in this country, and believes that it is due partly to the fact that no immediate results in pounds, shillings, and pence come of them. He advocates the resumption of their study chiefly on the ground that they serve 'nobler uses than those of material comfort, and form in themselves a worthy end of pursuit.' The position is unquestionable. There is no need, as Father Rickaby also points out, for metaphysics to run into meaningless jargon; but their careful and methodical study is, as a means of education, invaluable. The manual is cast on the old fashioned lines, and is full of references not only to modern philosophical writers but also to the schoolmen. The first book deals with being and the notions most closely connected with it, and has chapters on the notion of being, essence and existence, the attributes and possibilities of being, and on the finite and infinite. The second book deals with some of the notions next in point of generality to that of

transcendental being, such as substance and accident, causality, time and space. As we need hardly say to those who have read the author's other contributions to this series, the manual is written throughout in simple and intelligible language.

For Messrs. Macmillan's 'Men of Action' series, Mr. Archibald Forbes has written one of the most charming biographies of Havelock we have seen. While full of admiration for the great general's character, he is by no means silent on what he considers his mistakes. At the same time, he is eager to defend him against some of the attacks which in his opinion, and in the opinion of others, have been unjustly made against him. Mr. Forbes is not altogether sure of the wisdom of Sir James Outram in not taking up the supreme command when the two generals met, and does not altogether absolve him from blame. In fact, he holds him responsible for what seems to him the unnecessary waste of life when the first relief of Lucknow was effected. To both generals, however, he pays the highest tribute for chivalry and other soldierly virtues.

In the same series we have also Mr. Walter Besant's *Captain Cook* and Mr. W. Stebbing's *Peterborough*. The former has been written with great care. Mr. Besant is apparently well acquainted with almost every inch of the district where Cook spent his early years; and has written his account of his celebrated voyages with an evident desire to do justice both to the memory, skill, and enterprise of the great navigator. The story of his life loses nothing of its interest in Mr. Besant's hands, and many will doubtless be thankful for the many new particulars he has been fortunate enough to exhume. Mr. Stebbing's task has been more difficult. Peterborough has always been an enigma, and in all probability will always remain such. Truth and fiction have been so woven together around him that it is difficult to disentangle the one from the other. This Mr. Stebbing has felt and acknowledged, and has made no attempt, perhaps wisely, to unravel many of the mysteries or disputed points in a career which he not inaptly terms zig-zig and motley.

Mr. G. Gregory Smith's *The Days of James IV., 1488-1513*, which forms one of Mr. Nutt's series of 'History from Contemporary Writers,' is an excellent compilation, or we should say, book. Its principal contents are extracts from contemporary Scottish writers, throwing light on the social and political conditions of Scotland during the reign of James IV.; the value and significance of which might easily be passed but for the admirable setting which Mr. Smith has given to them. His thorough acquaintance with the period is unquestionable, and in every case he has gone to the original authorities. We should like to see every reign treated in the same way, and the books used as text-books in the schools.

The delightful and gossipy narrative which Herodotus of Harlicarnassos wrote of his inquiries into the history and condition of the peoples of the ancient world, has been so often rendered into English that the number of existing translations might almost be taken as an argument that there is no room for another. Yet if we mistake not, Mr. G. C. Macaulay's *History of Herodotus translated into English* (Macmillan) is sufficiently distinctive to justify its existence. In the first place, few translators have spent so much labour on the preliminary work of settling the text to be translated. In the main, use has been made of the critical edition of Stein, but the conjectural emendations of that editor have not always been adopted. In many instances, too, Dr. Stein's text has been departed from, Mr. Macaulay having examined the Medician MS. and the Florentinus for himself, and found reason for adopting different readings. In the

second place, he has aimed at faithfulness, and has sought to make his translation as accurately representative of his author's manner of expression as well as of his meaning as is possible. And so far as we have been able to compare it, he seems to us to have succeeded admirably. The structure of the sentences is, as a rule, carefully reproduced, and the meaning and turns of expression preserved. At the same time, Mr. Macaulay has resisted the temptation to heighten the colouring of his translation by the use of archaic words. The work is honestly done into modern English, and is withal eminently readable. The notes are excellent, being brief and informing. They are given at the end of each Book, and will be consulted both by the scholar and the student with profit, as Mr. Macaulay here notes his own readings and those of others, besides giving alternative translation and morsels of information for the elucidation of the text.

Mr. W. E. Griffis' *Matthew Calbraith Perry* (Houghton, Mifflin) is one of those naval biographies which carry us back to the beginning of the century and remind us of what naval warfare used to be. It is a book, too, which will be read on other accounts. Commodore Perry had a large hand in other matters than naval and military. He did good work in the cause of the negro; but his crowning act was the opening up of Japan to the commerce of the world. By his mother's side he is said to have been descended from the Craigie-Wallace family. The narrative which Mr. Griffis has written of his life has much that is attractive about it, and appears to be popular in America, as it deserves to be. Perhaps he is a little too fond of using superlatives, but as a rule he writes well and with considerable force. He is wrong, however, in saying that Malcolm Wallace of Elderslie was the brother of Sir Richard Wallace of Riccarton. Malcolm's brother was named Adam, and Richard Wallace of Riccarton was their grandfather.

M. Berthelot's *La Revolution Chimique* (Félix Alcan) is devoted to an account of those discoveries of Lavoisier which have so completely revolutionized the study of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, and were made during the early part of the troubled days of the French Revolution, of which Lavoisier was one of the most illustrious victims. M. Grimaux's biography of the great chemist appeared some two years ago, and from this M. Berthelot has drawn the materials for his sketch of Lavoisier's life; but his aim is less biographical than scientific; and in a series of sixteen chapters he narrates the steps by which Lavoisier was gradually led to his discoveries and his new departure in the science of Chemistry. Not the least valuable part of this excellent and timely volume is the analyses given at the end of Lavoisier's Diary, which extends to thirteen MS. volumes, in which he noted down from day to day his experiments and their results.

Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell's *Essays on Government* (Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.) contains five papers. In the first of them he compares the Government of the United States with that of the United Kingdom, and points out that Cabinet responsibility, the central feature of the British system, is not in harmony with the institutions of the United States. In the second, the same two systems of government are examined in respect to the effects they are calculated to have in a democratic country on the limitation of popular power and on the protection of private rights. The third essay treats of the position and functions of the legal profession in the American system of government; and the two last treat of the limitation of political power, one of them discussing the social compact theory and the other the abstract doctrine of the limitation of the sovereignty.

The discussion is carried on throughout in a philosophical spirit, and Mr. Lowell puts in no special plea for any of the systems he reviews. In his introduction, however, he is more outspoken, and states his preferences. He has some very sensible remarks on the theory of the socialists, and lays stress on the sacredness of individual rights, and on the results of their careful exercise and protection.

The Seventh Series of *Cameos from English History* (Macmillan) by the author of *The Heir of Redclyffe*, deals with the periods of the Rebellion and Restoration. The chapters are fitly termed 'cameos.' The skill with which they are conceived, the art with which the minutest details are worked in, and the beauty of their literary workmanship fully entitle them to the name. We trust that more volumes will be added of a similar excellence.

The newspaper reporter is no doubt a somewhat important individual and has important functions to perform, but whether he is that great and heroic being whom Mr. Pendleton would make him out to be in his *Newspaper Reporting in the Olden Time and To-day* (Elliot Stock) is perhaps doubtful. But however that may be, there can be no doubt that Mr. Pendleton has written what must after all be called an attractive little book about him and his doings. The sketch of the history of Parliamentary reporting, though containing nothing new, is well done, and the book will afford entertainment even to those whom it fails to inform. One part of the newspaper reporter's work the author scarcely does justice to, and that is his heroic and generally successful efforts to give the gist of verbose speeches in the fewest words.

The sixth volume of *Blackie's Modern Cyclopedia* is fully equal to any of its predecessors. No efforts seem to have been spared to make it as comprehensive and useful as its comparatively straitened limits will allow. In some respects, indeed, it is surprisingly minute. It has not only the articles we usually expect to meet with in works of the kind, but a number which are altogether unlooked for. For instance, one would scarcely expect to find an explanation of the terms of the Kantian Philosophy; but these are only a few of the technical terms explained. The biographical and geographical articles are as usual good; so also are the scientific. In fact for its size the work promises to be without its equal.

Mr. Gray's *Civil Service Geography* (Crosby Lockwood) seems singularly well fitted for its purpose. It is well supplied with maps, and contains just such information, we should say, as is required in the Civil Service. Free use has been made of different types, which to the student is of itself an advantage.

To 'Les artistes célèbres' series (Paris, Librairie de l'Art) two volumes have been added: *Turner*, par Philip Gilbert Hamerton, and *A. L. Barye*, par Arsène Alexandre. Of Mr. Hamerton's work we need say nothing. His ability as a writer and as an art critic, and especially of Turner, is well known in this country and needs no commendation. But very few in this country, we suspect, have heard either of M. Alexandre as a writer, and of M. Barye of whom he writes. In France, however, the latter has long occupied a very prominent position. A man of great force of character, devoted to art, and with large technical knowledge and ability, he worked both as a painter and a sculptor. It is in the latter character, however, that he is best known. He died no longer ago than 1875, but not before he had obtained some of the very highest honours of his profession. M. Alexandre has written of him and his works with discrimination and sympathy. At the end of his volume he has given a catalogue both of his sculptures and paintings, and has indicated the places where the works he prepared as public monuments may be seen.

NEW EDITIONS.

Among New Editions and Reprints, we have Dr. Cave's *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement* (T. & T. Clark). The work, it would appear, has been thoroughly revised and in part re-written, while the literary references have been brought down to date. In the Old Testament section comparatively little change has been made, though some important additions have been made to the chapters on 'The Mosaic Injunctions,' and the one following, dealing with the essential significance of these injunctions. The chief alterations have been made in the presentation of the New Testament doctrine. Here points have been developed which in the earlier edition were only hinted at; additions have been made to the history of the doctrine of the Atonement; and a new synthesis of the New Testament data for the doctrine of the Atonement has been attempted. The work covers a large field, and may probably be taken as a fair statement of Protestant Evangelical opinions on the subject of which it treats.

Mr. W. M'Combie Smith's *Memoir of the Families of M'Combie and Thoms* (Blackwood & Sons), which we noticed some time ago, has been considerably enlarged. The issue of the first edition has brought about, it would appear, a meeting between the representatives of the two main branches of the descendants of M'Comie Mor, and also put Mr. M'Combie Smith in the way of obtaining fresh materials. Here he has used them for the purpose of giving additional details respecting the genealogy and property of M'Comie Mor and his ancestors in Glenshee. He has also been enabled to trace the story of Angus, the last of the M'Comies or M'Intoshes, designated of Forter, and to add some account of his descendants, one of whom was P. H. Thoms, who, from 1847 to 1853, was provost of Dundee, and whose son is now Sheriff of Orkney and Zetland.

Under the title *Tales of Old Scotland* (Macniven and Wallace), Sheriff Rampini has collected together ten papers dealing with some of the more picturesque and romantic episodes in the history of Scotland. The 'Tales' are by no means fictions, Mr. Rampini having gone for his facts to the original sources of information. One of the ten, we may note in passing, originally appeared in the pages of this *Review*.

Popular Tales of the West Highlands, Vol. I. (Alex. Gardner), is an exact reprint of that scarce and valuable collection of Gaelic folklore collected and issued some years ago by the late J. F. Campbell of Islay. No change has been made in the original text, except that of giving effect to the somewhat copious lists of errata in the original edition. Both the Gaelic and the English versions are printed, as well as the original notes, and all make their appearance in a better type and a more handsome form.

CORRECTION.

Vol. XIV., p. 274, and Vol. XV., p. 330, for 'Sir Edward Lane' read Mr. E. W. Lane.

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THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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ART. I.—SCOTTISH POOR LAW REFORM.

THE relief of the poor is an ever present necessity, and legislation in regard to it is of very ancient date. From 1424, in the reign of James I., till 1579, eleven Acts were passed dealing chiefly with sturdy beggars who over-ran the country and became both a danger and a nuisance. They were said to number about 100,000. In 1579, in the reign of James VI., an Act providing for the support of the ordinary poor and for the repression of 'strang and idle beggars' tried to deal with the problem in a systematic way. A register of poor was to be made up in each parish. For this purpose all beggars were ordered to repair forthwith to the parish of their birth or common resort and there settle. Overseers of the poor were also to be appointed by Provosts, Bailies, and Judges. Between 1579 and 1698, various Acts were passed dealing with the duties of Kirk-Sessions, Heritors, and Magistrates, in administering the poor law. Nothing further seems to have been done till 1839, when, in consequence of widespread dissatisfaction with the working of the old Acts, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland at the request of the Secretary of State, appointed a Committee to investigate and report on the subject. The report shewed that the laws had been badly administered, and that the relief afforded was most inadequate. The chief source of income was church-door collec-

world arrangement of parochial government. On parochialdom, as on everything else, the doom has been pronounced: 'The old order changeth giving place to new.' For ecclesiastical purposes the present division of Scotland into nearly nine hundred parishes may stand as long as the State Church endures, but for every reform connected with popular government or taxation it has long been disregarded. If Poor Law administration were freed from the present narrow limits, and wrought on a wider basis, all that has long characterised it in the way of inefficiency and insufficiency, of inexcusable friction, and unpardonable monetary waste, might be for ever rectified. A new and more humane spirit might also be infused into it. Under the present system, the doctrine has hitherto everywhere obtained, that in order to keep pauperism at a minimum, State relief should be surrounded by everything which can hinder anyone with self-respect from taking advantage of it. Private charity, if wisely administered, carries with it the double blessing on him that gives and on him that receives, but, unfortunately, legal charity has never set before itself a higher creed, than that poverty is a crime, that the vicious poor are irreclaimable, and that the respectable poor who accept it, place themselves and their children under a terrible *bar sinister*. It is many years since the most thoughtful of political economists declared that national charity should differ from private charity, only in the greater ability of the nation to cope in a large and generous way with the needs of the poor. The nation which contributes millions of pounds annually towards preparation for wars which seldom take place, and which, when they do take place, are fraught with untellable destruction of human lives, should surely not grudge thousands towards the preservation of life, and in fulfilling this natural duty should set before itself as a criterion, sufficiency of relief, and not grinding economy, as at present.

There is every reason for believing that this could be accomplished under the system proposed, at less than the present annual cost. By altering the existing narrow local administration, the humiliation so keenly felt by the respectable

poor might be mitigated, while the vicious poor could be more systematically dealt with. Undue extravagance could easily be checked by the control of the County Council and the Board of Supervision. The country is ripe for some such change and Parliament is willing to legislate.

HENRY HUNTER.

ART. II.—THE EARLY CHRISTIANS IN SYRIA.

FEW subjects can be supposed to have a wider general interest than that of the early struggles of Christianity in its native land, and of the various movements within the limits of the faith which led to the divergence of the Eastern sects surviving to our own times. The sources of information, which are most authentic, are two. First, the writings of the Christian Fathers of the second and third centuries of our era; and secondly, the evidence of contemporary inscriptions of the the third and fourth and succeeding centuries which lie among the ruins of towns and villages in all parts of Syria and of Palestine. The object of the present paper is to give first a sketch, not of dogmas, but of the social life of the early Christians as derivable from the Patristic literature, and secondly to show how the incidental notices in that literature are illustrated and confirmed by extant inscriptions.

Eusebius* and Epiphanius inform us that the Christians fled from Jerusalem, shortly before the great siege by Titus, to Pella, a city beyond Jordan, the ruins of which place still retain the name *Fahil* and lie on the slopes of Gilead, not far to the south-east of the Sea of Galilee. Pella is mentioned by Josephus,† yet earlier, and appears to have possessed a population antagonistic to the Jews in 66 A.D.‡ and of Syrian stock. The little town stood in a remote and hidden position above the Jordan valley, and the jungly ravine under the terrace on

* iii. 5.

† 13 *Ant.*, xv. 4, 1 *Wars*, iv. 8.

‡ 2 *Wars*, xviii. 1.

which it was built was full of springs; on the east an oak wood covered the slopes, while the hot baths near to it were already famous. While Roman armies devastated Palestine the Christians here remained in safe obscurity. The Jewish tombs here found show the antiquity of the site, and the caves on the rocky slope were, no doubt, as in other parts of the country, the abodes of early Anchorites. At a later period a large basilica was built and a Greek bishop appointed, but the only inscription as yet known is a short text of uncertain date in which the word 'Presbyter' is legible.

A second site mentioned by Eusebius,* was the town of Kokaba where Hebrew Christians called Ebionites dwelt. This site has only quite recently been discovered at the ruin of Kaukab, exactly in the position described by Christian writers, about sixteen miles east of the Sea of Galilee. The ruins are extensive but of no great interest, and lie in a stony part of the Jaulan plain.

The Ebionites or 'poor,' whose name was connected with our Lord's blessing on the poor, were strictly Hebrew in their customs as well as by birth. They regarded Jesus as a prophet only, and practised circumcision. They appear to have claimed that the brethren of Christ lived among them at Kaukaba, and they differed from the Nazarenes, who accepted the first chapters of the Gospel of Matthew, which the Ebionites rejected. The Nazarenes were the orthodox party, whose name has come down to us as that by which all Christians are now known in the East. In many customs the Ebionites resembled the earlier Essenes, being strict ascetics. Their places of worship they called 'synagogues.' They abstained from meat and prayed with their faces turned to Jerusalem, 'the House of God.' The influence of St. Paul and of Italian Christianity never penetrated into this remote region, and Irenæus, who, about 185 A.D., gives some account of their peculiar dogmas, states that they followed Cerinthus, the heretic of Antioch, who believed in a millennial reign of Christ and practised vicarious baptism for the dead.†

* i. 8.

† *Irenæus* I., xxvi. 2.

Early in the second century a prophet named Elkesai appeared among these Trans-Jordanic Christians, who was highly honoured in the third century A.D. He taught that Christ had attained to the dignity of Messiah through successive incarnations at different periods of history. He maintained the Law, the Sabbath, circumcision, and abstinence from flesh, and taught his followers to swear by salt, earth, water, bread, heaven, and the wind. He baptised not once only but also as a cure for disease. It is remarkable, however, that he rejected sacrifices and the reading of the Prophets, and administered the Eucharist with salt. Some of the Syrians went further, and used only water instead of wine, and some even used cheese in the Eucharistic ceremony.

It is probably to one of these obscure sects that the recently discovered *Teaching of the Apostles* is to be ascribed—a work of the second century, of which the doctrines agree closely with those of the Ebionites. According to this collection of precepts, baptism was to be in running water, and it was perhaps on account of the stream and numerous springs that the Christians selected Pella as a place of residence.

Another teacher, who in the earlier part of the second century had many followers in Syria, was Marcion of Pontus, who followed Paul to the exclusion of all other Scriptures. Against him Tertullian argues at length, exposing the superstitions of his disciples, who were addicted to astrology and who absolutely rejected the Old Testament. The centre of this heresy was in northern Syria, and it represents an entire contrast to the religion of the Christians of Bashan.

Justin Martyr, who was himself a native of Shechem, has drawn a picture of the quiet Christian life of his day, which contrasts forcibly with the wild mysticism of the gnostic and half pagan sects of the time. ‘On the day called Sunday,’ he writes, ‘all who live in cities or in the country gather in one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read as long as there is time, and when the reader has finished the president instructs by word of mouth, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things; then together we rise and pray, and, as before said, when one prayer is

finished, bread, wine, and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayer and thanksgiving as he is able, and the people assent, saying "Amen," and there is distribution to each, and a participation in that over which thanks has been given, and to those who have been absent a portion is sent by the hands of deacons, after which a collection is made.*

Tertullian, rather later at Carthage, describes rites of equal simplicity among a numerous Christian community—a prayer before a simple meal, then the washing of hands, and each in turn asked to sing a hymn, after which a final prayer concluded the meeting.†

By the time of Tertullian, Christianity had spread over the whole known world, to India on the East and to Gaul on the West. Very early, also, in distorted forms it was accepted by the Arab tribes; and along the Euphrates the baptising sects had established their ascetic communities. In the time of Origen a bishop was already to be found in Bostra, on the borders of the Syrian desert, which since 105 A.D. had become the capital of the Roman province of Arabia. The Ghassanids in Bashan were a Christian dynasty; the kings of Hira are said to have built churches; the inhabitants of Najrân were Christians; and Nazarenes had entered northern Arabia where the Collyridians were so named from a twisted cake which they offered to the Virgin Mary, as the Hebrews and Phœnicians had offered cakes to Ashtoreth. The great persecutions left these remote regions untouched, and Philip the Arab, when he became Emperor in 244 A.D., was for five years a friend to the Christians.

Nevertheless, the Paganism of Greece and the old Arab Paganism were still dominant throughout Syria, and the Christians do not appear to have formed a strong element in the population. They were, probably, often obliged to conceal their creed in face of the bitter prejudice of their Roman rulers, which finds expression much earlier in Tacitus. Hence we find at this early period that the cross was not used in Christian symbolism, and that the cryptogram, which under

* 1 *Apol.*, lxviii.

† *Apol.*, 39.

the word *Ichthys* or 'fish,' concealed the name and character of Christ, was in common use. Tertullian refers to this symbol when he says: 'We little fishes after the example of our *Ichthys*, Jesus Christ, are born of water.'* Clement of Alexandria recommends the fish as an emblem for a Christian signet, with the dove, the anchor, the ship, and the lyre.† Even in France, at Autun, a mystic poem has been found carved on marble, which identifies the *Ichthys* in the third century with the 'Saviour of the Saints.' The fish and wreath, the fish and anchor, are Christian emblems in the Roman catacombs in 234 A.D., but the emblem may be of Eastern origin for the Jews themselves used the word *Dag* or 'fish' to symbolize the Messiah.

It may have been from a like reason that the word *Chreestos* or *Christos* was used at this early period instead of *Christos*; and the Christians appear to have been generally known to Pagans as *Chreestoi* or 'good folk.' There is frequent allusion to this pronunciation in the Patristic writings. Justin Martyr says: 'As far as one may judge from the name we are accused of we are most excellent people.'‡ Clement of Alexandria even reads *Christ* for *Chreestos* in quoting an Epistle.§ Tertullian mentions the confusion. 'Yea,' he exclaims, 'and even when it is wrongly pronounced by you *Chreestianos* (for you do not even know accurately the name you hate) it comes from sweetness and benignity. You hate therefore in the guiltless even a guiltless name.'|| Yet the mispronunciation survived among the Christians themselves for at least a century after Tertullian's death.

This concealment of Christianity is well known to be traceable in the symbolism of the catacombs. The fish, the anchor, the phoenix, Alpha and Omega, the Tau instead of the cross, the palm branch, are the earliest Christian emblems, and the earliest distinctly Christian text dates only from 204 A.D. It was not until the edict of toleration in 313 A.D., that the Christians, though then numbering in many places half the popula-

* *De Bapt.*, ch. 1.† *Pæd.*, iii. 11.‡ *Chreestianoï.*

§ 1 Peter, ii. 1-3.

|| *Apol.*, 3.

tion, dared openly to declare their faith by their funerary and religious inscriptions.

On the other hand the Pagan hatred found expression even in the art of the period. A terra cotta found in Syria represents an ass-headed personage in a toga and with a cloven hoof, with the inscription in Latin and Greek *Deus Christianorum Onokoites*, forming a pendant to the well known sketch of the Palatine. Tertullian refers to a picture exactly similar to that on the terra cotta as produced by a renegade Jew at Carthage, and among the many accusations which he refutes—such as that Christians worshipped the Sun or the Cross, that they slew children and refused to swear by the genius of Cæsar—he specially notices that of adoring the *Onokoite*, which according to Hesychius, meant ‘the donkey priest.’ The figure is represented holding the Gospel in its hand.

Churches as yet were not and the meetings were in private houses. The Jews in the second century prayed in the open air. Prayer by the side of rivers was as old as the time of the Apostles (Acts xvi. 13) and the washing of hands after prayer in these *proseuchæ* was a general custom of Eastern Christians as of the later Moslems, who chose the side of a stream by preference for prayer.

There was a darker side to the picture in the licentious and cruel rites of the Gnostic sects. The Ophites mingled Christianity with Eleusiian mysteries, and suffered the serpent to crawl over the Eucharistic cake as over the buns of Eleusis. The Markosians juggled and taught every species of superstition, dealing in charms and amulets, claiming to convert water into blood in the sacred cup. The Cainites worshipped naked in a church called ‘Paradise.’ The disciples of Carpocrates and Epiphanes taught community of wives and are said to have indulged in those orgies which Pagan writers charge against the Christians, and which have certainly been performed by Hindus and by some of the wild Moslem heretics of Syria.

The Christians generally appear to have claimed power to exorcise demons, and the Fathers give many details as to the various kinds of such demons. Tertullian claims that Christian exorcism was not performed for hire, and says that in one case

the devil excused himself because the woman he possessed had been found in his own domain—in a theatre.

It was an age of great scientific ignorance, yet of considerable literary culture. The operations of nature, not understood, were explained by crude theories, and even the habits and characters of animals were unknown. The Christian writers are not inferior to their contemporaries in this respect, as the readers of Pliny's *Natural History* will recognise. It was an age also of great and senseless luxury, of general unbelief in the former creeds of the civilized world, and of unbounded vice and cruelty. Yet it was a time when commerce was widely spread and when China and Britain were alike in contact with Rome, an age also of literature and philosophy, and of peace within the bounds of Imperial rule.

That scandals had begun to creep into the Church we know not from the evidence of its enemies, but from the earnest exhortations of its leaders in the great centres of civilization at Rome, at Carthage, and at Alexandria. The 'holy kiss,' was already abused. The *Agapæ* had become drunken feasts, and Christians other than the Gnostics were stained with vice. Books other than the four Gospels which Tertullian mentions by the names of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, were held as of authority; for Justin Martyr speaks of the Jordan in flames at the time of our Lord's baptism—a belief of which the Ebionite 'gospel of the Hebrews' seems to have been the source.

In 324 A.D., Constantine exhorted his Pagan subjects to become Christian, yet Paganism was not thereby stamped out. What Christian persuasion failed to effect was only finally accomplished by the sword of Islam. The shrines of Daphne and Afka had become disreputable in the 4th century, and the licentious worship of Aphrodite at the latter place was suppressed by Constantine, but temples were built even later, and savage rites were still observed. Chrysostom says that there were only a few temples frequented by old women, and the poverty of the Daphne shrine in Julian's time is well known. Yet in more remote regions, far away from the centres of civilization, the old Greek and Syrian cults remained almost

unchanged. St. Porphyry found eight gods worshipped at Gaza, and an obscene marble statue of Venus was adorned with lamps, while Marnas was entreated to send rain. It would seem that at Laodicea in Syria, even down to the 4th century, it was the annual custom to sacrifice a maiden, and the sacrifice of children continued yet later among the Arabs. Antoninus Martyr in the 6th century mentions the stone worship of the Sinaitic Arabs, and Saint Hilarion found the natives worshipping Aphrodite in Elusa near Beersheba. So slowly did the old creeds die out even after the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Empire.

With the establishment of Christianity and the visit of Helena to Jerusalem a new era commenced, but new dangers assailed the faith. The ranks of the monks were soon crowded with those whose objects were no longer religious. The congregations which accepted Christianity as a fashionable creed were vainly exhorted by Cyril and Gregory. Men entered the Church from motives of ambition and used their offices as bishops to aid political intrigues. The great writers Cyril, Jerome, Chrysostom, and others no longer speak of Pagan vices but bewail the luxury, the dishonesty and the unscrupulous ambition of bishops of the Church. Yet were there good men in all ranks, devout pilgrims who came over sea and land, honest and learned fathers of the Church, who, like Jerome, devoted themselves to profound study of Scripture and to whose labours we are indebted for much knowledge still valuable in our own times.

The first places of pilgrimage were the manger at Bethlehem and the summit of Olivet. The manger was already known to Origen and yet earlier to Justin Martyr (*Trypho*, 78). The great basilica of which the original columns are still untouched, was here built by Constantine in 330 A.D., and the venerable pile thus claims to be one of the oldest Christian churches in the world, though according to the words of Theodorus the church on Mount Sion was the 'mother of all churches,' and already in 348 St Cyril speaks of this church (now a mosque) as 'the upper church of the Apostles.' The cave at Bethlehem was the scene in Jerome's time of a yearly mourning for

Tammuz; and a grove was planted round it—by Hadrian as was said—which Helena cut down when the basilica was built.

In 336 A.D., the first pilgrim who has left us any account of his travels came from Gaul to Jerusalem. His name is unknown but his native town was Bordeaux. He travelled by Toulouse and Arles, Avignon and Turin to Milan, thence to Padua, to Petau, and by Belgrade to Sophia and Constantinople. Crossing to Nicomedia he proceeded in a straight line through Ancyra to Tarsus and along the Syrian shores to Lydda, safely reaching the Holy City and returning by sea to Greece and Italy where he landed and journeyed to Milan and finally to his home. He found the great Basilica, which included the sites of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, already commenced, as well as another on Olivet; but the list of relics and stations then shewn to pilgrims is far less elaborate than in the accounts of later pilgrims. There are several curious errors in this account which seem to argue imperfect acquaintance with the Bible, as when he makes David meet Goliath in Galilee, and the Transfiguration to have occurred on the Mount of Olives.

What the Bordeaux Pilgrim successfully achieved, many others no doubt failed to accomplish in a distance of more than two thousand miles either way through countries overrun by hordes of barbarians. Yet even women travelled along these stony tracks and safely reached their destination, and so numerous became the pilgrimages that grave scandals ensued. About 370 A.D. Gregory of Nyssa, who went on a peacemaking mission into Syria, is said to have returned full of indignation on account of the follies and crimes of the more ignorant pilgrims.

The lectures which St. Cyril delivered in the new church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem in 347 A.D. give us much insight into the state of Syria and the rites of the Eastern Church immediately after Christianity had become the established creed. Hadrian's statue was still standing in the Jerusalem Temple where both Jerome and the Bordeaux Pilgrim saw it; and the old Temple wall at the south-east corner of the cloisters stood

up as a ruined pinnacle. Cyril believed that until both were overthrown, the second coming of Christ was delayed, since not one stone was to remain upon another. Hadrian's statue was destroyed, and the head has recently been found cast among the stones of the northern highway, but the wall still remains, having been restored by Justinian.

It appears from these lectures that the wood of the Holy Cross was already widely distributed by pilgrims. Saint Paula had adored the Cross in Jerusalem in 382 A.D., but Cyril says that relics had been distributed from its wood 'piecemeal to all the world' (xiii. 4), so that 'the whole world is filled with the portions of the wood of the Cross' (iv. 10). These are among the earliest references to its discovery which we possess.

The chief enemies of the faith against whom Cyril thunders were the Manichean heretics. Manes himself was flayed alive by the Magi in 275 A.D., but his heresy was not stamped out till the tenth century, and it spread to Eastern Europe and even to France and Spain. This wild syncretic system was partly of Buddhist, partly of Zoroastrian, and, only to a lesser extent, of Christian character, and some of the tenets of the modern Druzes appear to be of Manichean origin. It was perhaps the most famous and successful of all the innumerable attempts to form a system which should combine Christianity with Paganism and reconcile the new faith with the ineradicable superstitions of the past. Cyril brings serious charges against the Manicheans. 'I do not venture,' he says, 'to describe before men and women what is done in their baptisms and in their wretched congregations' (vi. 33). They identified Christ with the Sun (xv. 3), they invoked the demon of the air 'in their detestable ceremony of the fig' (vi. 23). It is remarkable that the fig is still a symbol of recognition among the Druze initiates.

The Montanists also were still in existence—the furious latter-day frenzy which in the second century had maddened the inhabitants of Asia Minor. Against them Cyril brings the charge which has been brought against the Jews in all ages down to our own, against the Templars, the Gnostics, and

even by Pagans against the Christians generally. He describes the followers of Montanus as 'cutting the throats of wretched little children and chopping them up as horrid food for the purposes of their so-called mysteries' (xvi. 8). We may, however, suppose that such charges were as unfounded in this as they were in other cases.

More interesting, however, are the accounts of the rites of Baptism and the Eucharist as they were observed by the Eastern Church in the days of Constantine. Baptism was bestowed after long preparation at Easter and Pentecost only, and the adult were as a rule alone baptised while many delayed receiving the rite (like Constantine) till late in life, it being held to give remission only of previous sins. There were no fonts in the fourth century churches, for special baptistries were built, and at Jerusalem a great tank near the church was used. The churches and chapels of Palestine, which date from the Byzantine age, have generally such a tank near to them which may have been used for baptism. Men and women were baptised in separate buildings, for it was a rite of complete immersion and the candidates were stripped to the skin. In the outer hall of the Baptistry they assembled about midnight in their shirts by the light of torches, and turning to the west they pronounced their renunciation of the devil and all his works. They abjured things done in honour of idols, the lighting of lamps, the burning of incense by streams and springs, the watching of birds for augury, the divination by amulets, omens, charms written on leaves, and sorceries. Being then stripped they were anointed from head to foot with holy oil, and led to the pool; then confessing the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, they stepped down into the water, and returning received the Chrism or oiling of the forehead, ears, nostrils, and breast. After the ceremony they were clothed in white robes and received the kiss of peace. Honey and milk were given to them to drink and the *Pater Noster* was repeated.

The Eucharistic Supper was celebrated only by the baptized, and all the congregation which had not received the rite were excluded. The churches were built with apses, and the altar

was generally of stone covered with silk embroidered cloths. The Bishop sate in the apse behind the table, facing the congregation. In Alexandria the rite took place every evening, but the early morning hour was from the second century downwards more generally adopted. Cyril describes the ritual as commencing with the washing of the priests' hands. The Deacon then ordered the kiss of peace and the priest sang the *Sursum Corda* and gave thanks. The *Omnia Opera* was sung, and after the preliminary rites were concluded there were prayers for the State and for the pious dead. The Pater Noster was then followed by distribution of the bread and of the cup. That wine was mingled with water in the cup as early as the second century we learn from Irenæus.

Scattered through the homilies of another great preacher of the century, St. John Chrysostom, to his congregation at Antioch, may be found yet more vivid descriptions of the life of the mingled population of Syria in the very centre of trade, luxury, and civilisation. Yet it is a melancholy picture of the many evils against which pious and honest men strove in the first age of the Church's triumph. He inveighs against the luxury of the bishops and against the ignorance of the rural clergy, the indifference of his listeners, who were more eager to criticise a new actress, to learn the pedigree of a horse, to listen to the lewd songs of the theatre or to witness a chariot race, than to study the Scriptures or to conform to the practice of Christian virtues. Many of the details which he gives of Christian custom apply to the Eastern sects of our own times and are preserved by the Maronites, Syrians, Melchites and other archaic Christian sects. The exhortation to the rich, each to build a chapel on his estate, perhaps illustrates the occurrence of numerous small chapels scattered throughout the whole of Syria. The superstitions which he condemns and which were relics of the decadent paganism of the age, are still preserved by the Christian peasants in the Lebanon. The whole population lived not only in hourly dread of witches and ghosts but in equally real fear of being denounced for witchcraft; and the punishments were cruel and immediate. The congregations appear to have been meagre, the whole city

being given up to pleasure and to trade, though at least half the population of 200,000 families professed Christianity. Bishops and priests openly trafficked in Church preferments, and even the holy rites were parodied on the stage. While the bishop dwelt in a palace with furniture of gold and of the newly imported luxury of silk, the rural priest ignorant of the Greek tongue spoken in the city, and knowing only Syriac, followed the plough on week days, yet continued to obtain some knowledge of the Scriptures, probably through the very ancient Syriac version.

Many oriental customs not common in the West were observed by the Christians of Antioch. They washed their hands in the court yard of the Church before entering, and kissed the porch as they went in. They talked and laughed even during the sermon, and the thieves made away with the jewels of the ladies. The possessed and lunatic were brought before the altar at the end of the ordinary service and made to bow. The sign of the cross, which was, even in Tertullian's days, made very frequently during the day, is said to have been also stained on the foreheads of believers. The carnival was a time of riot and drunkenness, followed by very strict fasting in Lent. Pilgrimages were numerous and extended even to Ararat in Armenia, and to the monastery of Job in the Hauran to be noticed later. At funerals the old custom of hiring mourners, mentioned in the Bible and common also in Rome, was observed by Christians as it still is in Syria. Every kind of superstition was rife; amulets and charms were worn; auguries, lucky and unlucky days, verses from the Gospels sewn to the clothes and hung to the beds, are mentioned by Chrysostom, and such beliefs still survive among the Maronites. The public mind was taken up with amusements, processions, pageants, the tricks of tumblers and buffoons, theatrical performances and races.

The adoration of the Saints also began to become an important feature of the popular creed. Visits were paid to their tombs: at Cæsarea, the pilgrims danced round the tombs of martyrs as Greek pilgrims till quite recently round the Holy Sepulchre at Easter. Augustine of Hippo speaks of revelling

and drunkenness which occurred in these visits to the tombs of saints, and at the festivals in honour of martyrs. Laws were necessary to suppress such orgies even after the Agapæ had been forbidden in Churches, and as late as the seventh century women were forbidden to spend the night in the cemeteries.

It is not, however, part of the present enquiry to continue our researches later than the literature of the fourth century. We are concerned with the earlier times of Oriental Christianity, and have nothing to do with the great Trinitarian controversies which so soon shook the Church to its foundations after the suppression of the earlier Gnostic heresies. The secession of the various Oriental sects, Armenian, Syrian, Nestorian, and Coptic, from the established church had not yet resulted from the decrees of the Councils, though great divergence of views was already manifest, ranging from the strictly Jewish Christianity of Bashan to the Docetic dogmas which taught that Christ had no human body. The Gnostic Cerinthus and the later Saturninus had their followers in Antioch at a very early period, but the Nestorians were not yet cast forth from the Church, and Eutyches, whom the Armenians follow, was excluded by the second Council of Ephesus in 449 A.D.

We come then to the second branch of the enquiry, comparing the literary accounts of the fathers with actual monuments in Syria and Palestine. These are not indeed so numerous as are the texts of the Italian catacombs, which are counted at about 11,000 in all, of which 1400 are dated, and 4000 believed to be earlier than 324 A.D.; but the Syrian texts are often of great interest and importance, and number some 3000 in all previous to the conquest of Palestine by the Moslems. Of these, the majority, perhaps, are Pagan texts of the 1st and 2nd centuries, while the Christian are rarely earlier than the 4th. Their bearing on the history of Christianity in the East is however often of great interest and value. Perhaps the oldest Christian text in Palestine is a Hebrew name on an ossuary found on the Mount of Olives. From the forms of the letters it has been supposed to belong to the 2nd

century A.D. The name Yehudah here occurs with a Greek cross marked clearly beneath. Evidently a Jewish Christian's bones reposed in this little sarcophagus. It was a Jewish custom to collect the bones of the dead and convey them in such coffers to Jerusalem or to Hebron—a custom which continued to the Middle Ages. Justin Martyr tells us that in his time Jerusalem was strictly guarded, and death decreed against any Jew who entered the city,* but this did not prevent burial on Olivet, where upwards of fifty Hebrew osteophagi of this age have been found. Remembering that the Ebionites held Jerusalem as holy as did the Jews, it appears probable that the bones of some early Christian from Pella were brought to this cemetery: for the cross was never a Jewish emblem. To the same collection belongs another ossuary, with a Greek inscription, in which a cross precedes the name of Jesus twice repeated, and written with the *Epsilon* by some convert imperfectly acquainted with Greek. Whether the other texts with Hebrew names belonged to Jews or Hebrew Christians it is not possible to say.

To the third and fourth centuries of our era, scholars also attribute the inscriptions on the rocks in the Sinaitic peninsula. They appear to have been written by pilgrims of the Nabathean race—an ancient Arab people whose capital was at Petra. The Arab paganism survived in Petra to a late period, Dusares and his mother being adored at an annual feast, as described by Epiphanius. Yet there is no doubt that many of the Sinaitic texts are Christian, since they bear the cross; and pilgrimage to Sinai began early. They are invocations wishing health, peace, and blessing, or recording the names of those who passed by the rock.

The oldest dated inscriptions which are distinctly Christian come from northern Syria, and the first at least is heretical. At Khatura, not far from Antioch, is an inscription of the year 331 A.D., in which the name of Christ is written *Chreestos*, with the *Eta*; and the final formula is one also found on pagan texts. The cross is absent, or has been obliterated. The name of the

* 1 *Apol.*, xlvi.

author was Thalasis. This text was on the lintel of a door. At Deir Ali on Hermon, now a Druze village, is an inscription of the year 318 A.D. It is in honour of Jesus Chreestos, Lord and Saviour, by Paul the presbyter of the Synagogue of the Marcionites of the village of Lebaba. Epiphanius, who wrote half a century later, states that the Marcionite heresy extended over Syria, Palestine, and Arabia to Egypt, Italy, Rome, Cyprus and the Thebaid, and even to Persia; but this is apparently the only monumental evidence as yet collected on the subject.

The language of Palestine in the early ages of Christianity was Aramaic—a tongue approaching the Syriac. It was spoken from Palmyra on the north to Sinai on the south, and monuments in the Aramaic language and character are numerous. But the official language used by the Romans was Greek, which appears to have held much the same position now held by French in the Levant. The edicts of the Emperors, the funerary and religious inscriptions in Asia Minor and Syria alike during the period of the Roman sway, which not only preserve the names of the Cæsars, but are also in the majority of cases dated, are chiefly in Greek, and often in very bad Greek. Latin texts are uncommon, and generally rather late. Down to the time of Vespasian, even the Roman coins bear Greek legends. We are thus able to understand why the Gospels were written in Greek, which was the language of literature studied and admired in Rome, and in Syria as well. The majority of the early Christian texts come from the great plains of the Hauran, and are all Greek down to the time of the Moslem invasion; and yet later in crusading times Greek Christian texts are numerous.

The two texts above mentioned are not the only ones in which the spelling Chreestos for Christ is found. Another case occurs at Harrân, in the text of the deacon Kabbeos. Yet in 369 and 378 A.D. we find Christos and Christianos in the Antioch region. The first of these texts is of considerable interest, and bears the cross thrice repeated—‘+ To Eusebius + the Christian + Glory to the Father and Son and Holy Ghost. The year 417 the month Lôos the 27th.’ The era is that of

Antioch, which dates from 49 B.C. The fact that Eusebius was designated as a Christian is explained by the account of St. Chrysostom, which shows that half the population of Antioch even later was pagan.

The monogram of the *Ichthys* already explained occurs in the Christian texts of Syria: at the ancient Kanatha in Bashan it stands alone on a stone the syllables divided by a cross of the Latin form. In a ruin in Trachonitis the lintel stone of a chapel bears the text 'Jesus Christ help,' while on a stone to the right the fish is rudely sculptured. Near Apamea in Syria the lintel of an ancient house bears the words 'Ichthys alleluia alleluia.' A longer text occurs at Rafâdi near Antioch bearing the date 439 A.D., and the Labarum or sign of Constantine instead of the name of Christ is preceded by the word *Ichthys*, which is generally rendered *Iesus Christos Theou uios Soter*. The emblem was thus in use long after the establishment of Christianity in the East.

Side by side with Christian texts we find Paganism surviving to a late period. The deity Theandrites had a temple at Awwas as late as 394 A.D., and is known from the life of Isidorus to have been adored at Bostra. At Deir el Leben in the Hauran an important text in seven lines dating from the year 320 A.D., bears the name of the Emperor Constantinus and consecrates a large building to Helios Aumos—a local deity apparently of the 'year.' In another interesting case a church was built on the site of a former temple: this was at the village of Zera in Trachonitis where on the door of the church of St. George still remains in place a long text in nine lines dating from the 22nd March 515 A.D. It relates the construction of the church where once demons collected and that the Saviour's light now shone where once all was dark, while choirs of angels now sing where once the idols stood. This Church was erected says the same text by John son of Demetrius to whom St. George had appeared not in a dream but in reality. A still longer text of the same character written in thirteen lines of hexameter verse divided by crosses has been found in the Church of Gerasa in Gilead, which was built close to the principal temple. It bears no date, but

records the substitution of Christian worship for the sacrifices which once were offered on the spot by Pagans.

The deities adored by the Pagans were of two classes; the first belonged to the Greek Pantheon, the second to that of the national Arab tribes. Among the gods adored in Syria and Bashan were Zeus Teleios, Athene, Heracles, Helios, and Selene. Among the native deities we find Dusares, Aziz, and Aumu; the first is known to have been called by the early Arabs Du-Shera as the name is written in Aramaic letters, and this signifies 'the Lord of Gleaming.' He was the Arab Jupiter Tonans adored as a square stone at Petra, and even further south than Mecca. Azeizos, the Arab 'Azîz or 'Azûz was the 'glorious,' and is called in Dacian texts *bonus puer phosphorus* and Apollo Pythius. Aumu, who appears only in the Hauran, is also identified in the text already mentioned with Helios, the sun. No inscriptions in honour of Khalisah, the Arab Venus, appear to have been found. A priest of Dusares erected an altar on the 22nd March, 164 A.D., at Melah-es Sarrâr, in the Nabathean region, and even as late as 539 A.D. a native Christian of Bostra bears the name Dusarius, while about the same period another Christian at Harran is named Aumos.

The fact that Christians thus continued to bear ancient Arab names connected with native Paganism is of considerable importance, and taken with other indications, perhaps, enables us to carry back very early the date of Christian epigraphy in Bashan. At Jerusalem we have a text in which an ordinary heathen salutation is addressed to the Virgin, in the words *Hyper Soterias Marias*. At Shakka, in Bashan, a long text in eighteen hexameter lines occurs. There are reasons for supposing it to be Christian, though the phraseology is very ambiguous; and in this case, also, epithets borrowed from heathen phraseology appear to be applied to the Virgin Mary. Still more distinct is the poetic text of Bostra, dating from the 5th century, in which the Holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God, is addressed with Homeric epithets originally belonging to Demeter. Homer, indeed, was highly esteemed in Eastern Syria in the Byzantine age, and the poetic text of Gerasa,

already mentioned, contains a line borrowed entire from his poetry.

Again, we observe that some heathen invocations were not obnoxious to Christians, especially the *Agathe Tyche* or 'good luck,' which so often occurs on the honorary Pagan texts of the second century. This is shown in one case where a Christian inscription at Nejrân has been carved on a stone previously used for a Pagan invocation; the new sculptor, who records the building of a shrine to Elijah, begins his text with the cross, and has carefully obliterated two names—perhaps Helios and Selene—but has left the *Agathe Tyche* within the central wreath intact.

Taking these indications into consideration, it would seem that we have inscriptions of very early bishops in Bashan. At Salkhad we have a text recording the names of certain *Episkopoi*, which is held to be pagan because it begins *Agathe Tyche*. The date is 252 A.D. Another of the same character mentions six *Episkopoi* whose names shew them to have been native Arabs. It is of course known that the term was applied to certain civil functionaries, as well as to ecclesiastics, down to a late period, but there is at least a possibility that in these cases Christian bishops are intended. The Oriental bishops were very numerous in early times, villages as well as towns having their bishops, who, according to Chrysostom, only differed from presbyters in their power of ordination. The diocese was the parish, and it was not even necessary that a bishop should be an ecclesiastic when he was appointed.

Whether or no these earlier texts refer to Christian bishops, there are others which speak of presbyters, deacons, archdeacons, archimandrites, and archbishops. At Arura, in Bashan, we find a 'reverend presbyter' in 550 A.D., and a certain Theodorus is styled 'Presbyter and Archimandrite.' At Eitha yet earlier, the 'most Holy Eulogius' is also presbyter and archimandrite in 354 A.D. An archdeacon and a presbyter are mentioned in Trachonitis (at Busr el Hariri) in 517 A.D., and at Bostra, the metropolis of Arabia, Burckhardt found the title of 'most holy archbishop,' but without any date.

Evidence of the presence of the Elkesaite heretics is afforded probably by a text from Zera' in Trachonitis, where the names of Holy Mary and Marthine occur, flanked by crosses. Martha and Marthine were saints adored by this sect, according to Epiphanius.

The Christians of Palestine held several of the Old Testament saints in high estimation. Elijah is still revered in Palestine by Jew, Christian, and Moslem alike. Abraham, Job, Elisha, and Elijah were revered in Bashan side by side with St. Stephen, St. George, and SS. Sergius and Bacchus. At Hebron, in the mediæval church, now a mosque, which stands within the old enclosure over the tombs of the Patriarchs, is preserved an ancient text, now covered with red paint, which was carved by Christians in honour of Abraham. The wording is as follows: 'Holy Abraham, help thy Servant . . . and Agathemeros and Ugias and Thomas and Thomasia and Ablabias and Anastasia.'

In Jerome's time opinion was divided as to where the country of Job should be placed. Eusebius believed that it should be placed in Bashan, and the ruins of the famous shrine to which pilgrims already journeyed in the fourth century A.D. still remain at the village of Sheikh Sad, on the great southern road from Damascus. Here is shewn the 'Stone of Job,' against which he is believed to have rubbed himself, an ancient menhir seven feet high and four feet broad. Modern study shews that the home of Job is to be sought in the deserts near Petra, but it is to the traditional site that the Christian inscriptions of the Hauran refer. Job was also connected with Bostra, which was said to be named after his mother; and the house of 'holy and struggling Job' was there shewn in Justinian's time according to the text above mentioned as discovered by Burckhardt.

Shrines in honour of 'Holy Elijah' were erected by Christians at Diateh in Trachonitis, and at Zorara in the same province, the latter dated only from 512 A.D. Still later near Bostra, 'Holy Elishah' is mentioned in 623 A.D. Saint Stephen had a memorial chapel at Jimrin in 543 A.D., but St. George was one of the most revered Saints in Syria, having his church very

early at Lydda and in other towns. His festival was the 23rd of April, and in the sixth century his relics were carried to Zorara. Four inscriptions in his honour occur beyond Jordan.

As early as 350 A.D., St. Sergius had a church at Eitha in Bashan, and another at Busr el Hariri dates from 517 A.D. In 512 A.D. Sergius and Bacchus were honoured with a chapel at Bostra by the Archbishop Julian—a conspicuous prelate under Anastasius, who adhered to the orthodox party at the cost for a time of his throne.

Sergius and Bacchus were martyrs of the reign of Galerius: the first a native of Resapha, east of Palmyra, the second of Barbalissus in Commagene. Their festival was celebrated on the 7th of October, by Greeks and Latins alike, and though little observed in the west was widely recognised in the east. Justinian built a church for them in Constantinople, and a chapel of Sergius at Acre. The latter is still one of the chief Saints of the Russian church.

The names of angels also occur in one instance at Umm el Jemal, west of Bostra. A great square tower bears over its north window the name 'Uriel,' and beneath the Septuagint version of Psalm xxiv. 11 is paraphrased with a prayer for John and Numerian. On the west face is the name 'Emmanuel' with a cross. On the east, 'Gabriel,' with a prayer beneath, and below again, 'In this conquer and help,' with another cross. On the south side are the words, 'Glory to the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.' The two angels so named were with Michael and Raphael, the supporters of the throne of God according to the Jews, and Uriel was the angel of the north, for which reason no doubt his name here occurs on the north side of the building.

Quotations of the Psalms were frequently written over the doors of buildings. Psalm cxviii. 20 occurs at Jimrin, and also in a ruin south of Hebron, in Western Palestine; and at the monastery of Job in 641 A.D.,* after the Moslem conquest, we find

* Supposing this year to be dated from the era of Bostra, or 105 A.D. The text, however, says, 'In the year 536 of the reign of Jesus Christ,' and it is to be noted that the Christian era was first established (though incorrectly) by the Italian monk, Dionysius Exiguus, in 532 A.D.

the same quotation from Psalm cxviii. 20 again repeated. From the same psalm two other verses (26 and 27) are quoted at the ruin El Has near Apamea in northern Syria, and at Rueika in the same district Psalm xci. 1-2 is given, and at Dana Psalm xxxiv. 19. Again at Deir Sambîl the first verse of Psalm xxiv. occurs, and at Mujeilizeh Psalm xci. 9-10. At the important ruin El Barah, one of the most perfect of the early Christian towns in North Syria, we find Psalm cxxi. 8 and iv. 8, also the first words of Psalm xxiii. : 'The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want;' and again Psalm xxxiii. 22, and again the words of Luke ii. 14: 'Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace.' These texts are not dated, but belong probably to the fifth century, for a short text of the year 417 A.D. occurs at El Barah. Thus they are at least four or five hundred years older than any extant manuscript of the Old Testament, carrying back the text of the Septuagint as received by the Byzantine Christians, almost to the time of the celebrated Sinaitic text of the New Testament.

The Syrian texts have not often the pathetic tenderness of the Catacomb inscriptions, but one in a cave on Olivet is remarkable and probably pagan; 'Courage Dometila no one is immortal.' In another case east of Jordan we find 'Courage Helen dear child, no one is immortal . . . thy mother Ganae has made thy memorial. . . .'

Christianity maintained its hold in Bashan even after the Moslem conquest, judging from the dates of Christian texts at Melah es Serrâr (644 A.D.) and at Salkhad (633 and 665 A.D.), the last of the Ghassanid princes having submitted in 637 A.D. It is possible however that the latter date may be the year 560 A.D., since it is posterior to the establishment of the Christian Era.

A very interesting bilingual text may finally be noticed which has a value other than religious. This was discovered by M. Waddington at Harrân south of Damascus, well preserved in its original position over the gateway of a church. It is in Greek and Arabic, the latter giving the most ancient known example of the Cufic letters. The Greek reads: 'Asaraelos son of Talemios the phylarch made the martyrion

of St. John indiction. I. the year 463.' This gives a date 568 A.D. according to the Era of Bostra. The Arabic, reading from the right, begins with a cross and continues as follows: 'I Sharahîl son of Talemu have built this marturion (*mertûl*). Lord Yahu (for Yahya the national name of St. John Baptist) . . . delay thou the time when I shall be taken. So be it yea.' This text proves to us yet more clearly than the Greek inscriptions the existence of a Christian Arab population in the plains of Bashan. The next oldest Cufic text in existence is that in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem (691 A.D.), so that the Harrân inscription is more than a century earlier than any Moslem inscription, or than any known coin of the early Khalifs. Cufic was much used in Syria under the first Khalifs ruling at Damascus, but from this instance it is proved to be older than the foundation of the town of Kufa and to have been used in Syria for a century before the Moslem conquest. In all probability the Koran was first written in the Neshki, a distinct Arabic character of which examples are found in Egypt in 133 A.H.

The Christian inscriptions of Palestine though less numerous do not cease with the Moslem conquest. The Koran commanded the slaughter of the heathen, but only reduced Jews and Christians to tributaries, and at Jerusalem we have one historic text—the tomb of the princess Thecla Augusta—which belongs to the last quarter of the ninth century. The Arab Khalifs did not oppress their Christian subjects, and it was only when the Turkish princes invaded the country that a cry arose which led to the preaching of the first Crusade. From that time onward to the present day a permanent Christian element has strongly maintained itself in all parts of Palestine.

Nevertheless with the first Moslem conquest the prosperity of the regions east of Jordan appears to have suddenly ceased. The Crusaders did little but hold the Mecca road by a line of mighty castles. The churches found even at Madeba and further south in Moab, belong to the fifth and sixth centuries at latest, and the mediæval bishops perhaps never visited the sees whence they took their titles. The kings of Jerusalem failed

to conquer any part of the eastern Hauran, and young Baldwin III. retired discomfited from near Bostra. All this region was under the power of the Sultan of Damascus, even in the palmiest days of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Looking back on the monumental evidence which we owe mainly to the labours of De Vogüé and Waddington, we thus obtain a fairly vivid picture of the state of Christianity in all parts of Syria from the second to the seventh centuries of our era. Palmyra appears to have remained Pagan, though Queen Zenobia gave shelter to the heretical bishop of Antioch, and entertained a colony of Jews which still remained in this desert in the 12th century. On the borders of the Palmyrene desert at Salamieh, however, occurs a Christian text which quotes from Matthew, xxii., 31-2: 'The Lord hath said to us, I am the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, our God, not of the dead. . . .' And in the plains of Syria the Christian population was already strong and prosperous even in the 4th century after Christ.

The wealth which Chrysostom describes may have been found only in Antioch; yet the buildings of the age in all parts of the country are massive and often well ornamented with sculptured stone-work. Every village had its church, and places like Rabbath Ammon, Gerasa, and Medeba, had small chapels in addition to larger cathedrals. Yet the great Pagan temples remained standing, or at most were partially wrecked, appearing in our own times less ruinous in some cases than the churches. The Christians, or some population able to read Greek, have often purposely erased the names of some emperors. The names of Greek gods have, also, sometimes been chiseled out, and even those of the Roman legions, while the cross has in turn been defaced in certain cases by the Moslems; but the Arab on whom even Islam has made little impression, and who can read neither Greek nor Arabic, has in time come to regard all inscriptions either as magical formulæ or as objects to be sold to the Franks. Thus in the deserts we find a past civilization almost intact which carries back our literary evidence respecting the Old Testament for centuries beyond the limit of existing manuscripts, and which fully illustrates the accuracy of the Patristic writers in describing their own times.

The Christian population of Syria was an educated population, versed in the Scriptures, having a taste for classic poetry, and able even to compose hexameters of considerable beauty and originality. For the most part a simple and pious folk, yet tinged with the heretical extravagance of the age. In the earliest times the Christians of Bashan were severely Judaic in their practices and beliefs, but the Marcionites and Elkaisites have left their mark in Northern Syria. That the churches were without pictures, without instrumental music, and without bells, we know from other sources. Neither had they founts such as came into use with the Crusaders. The monasteries were themselves fortresses, including chapels, and the Anchorites dwelt in small caverns burrowed in the sides of the cliffs, which became their tombs when they died. After the example of the celebrated Simeon Stylites, many sat on pillars not only in Northern Syria but even on the banks of the Jordan. From the second to the seventh century Edessa was the seat of a great theological school where the Syriac language flourished; and the beautiful Syriac Codex of 411 A.D., now in the British Museum, is among the earliest Christian manuscripts, including the Clementine Recognitions and two treatises by Eusebius. The works of Greek philosophers and of Aristotle were here rendered into Syriac, which was pronounced to be the oldest language in the world. Thus to the Syrian Christians we owe much of our knowledge of early Christianity, and the preservation of much that was worth preserving from yet earlier times, while the Peshito and Cureton Syriac manuscripts of the New Testament rank among the oldest that we possess. If Syria was the hotbed of heresies, which sprang up and withered like mushrooms, it was in Syria also that the great fathers of the Church found refuge. Justin Martyr was a Syrian, Clement of Alexandria fled from persecution to Jerusalem, the bones of Origen were buried at Tyre, and in his cell at Bethlehem Jerome laboured to produce the Vulgate. Eusebius, the historian of the Church, was bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, and to him we owe the valuable Gazetteer of Bible topography known as the Onomasticon, which gives us in

Roman miles the distances between all the principal places then known. The Holy City was the natural centre of Christian pilgrimage and Christian study, and only in the catacombs of Italy do we find remains which cast as much light on the early Christian days as that which is cast by the Greek inscriptions of Syria here considered in connection with the Christian Fathers.

C. R. CONDER.

ART. III.—THE MYTHOGRAPHICAL TREATMENT
OF CELTIC ETHNOLOGY.

BEING THE THIRD 'RHIND LECTURE.'

WITH the aid of proper names I attempted in the previous lecture to shew that the British Isles had once a population which was, in point of origin, other than Celtic and Aryan. It is now time to look what Celtic mythography has to teach us on this question of race; and as the stories in point cluster thickest around Erin, it is convenient to begin with the Sister Island, and listen to what she has to fable about the settlements and divisions of the country between the ancient inhabitants. For ancient Ireland, the mother country of the Scot, is the key to Alban, his later Scotland in Britain.

Now, Irish legend not uncommonly divides Ireland into two halves, a northern and a southern half; they are named Leth Chuirn, or Conn's Half, and Leth Moga, or Mog's Half, the person meant in the latter case being Mog Nuadat, otherwise known as Eogan Mór, whence some of his reputed descendants were termed Eoganacht or Euganians. This division of Ireland into halves is not to be regarded as a fact: it has none of the characteristics of a real boundary between warlike peoples, and I suspect that primarily it was one between Connaught and Munster; for one can hardly be wrong in treating Conn's Half as synonymous with Connacht, the native form of the name of Connaught, which is derived from that of Conn, and may be loosely rendered Conn's people or Conn's descendants, just as if you called the

Campbells collectively the Campbellry, or the Macphersons the Parsonry, and so in other cases like that of the Eoganacht already mentioned. There is, however, no denying that Irish legend-mongers have usually applied this process of bisection to Ireland as a whole. It was embodied also in a story with quite other names, to wit those of the sons of Míl. This latter story in one of its simplest forms derives the peoples of Ireland from two brothers, sons of Galam or Míl, that is to say the Warrior, and those two brothers who so curiously recall Romulus and Remus, sons of Mars, were called Emer and Erem. So one of the oldest specimens of Irish literature, namely, Fiacc's Hymn, describes the whole population of Ireland as consisting, before St. Patrick's mission, of *meicc Emir, meicc Erimon*, 'the sons of Emer and the sons of Erem.' The descent from the two sons of Míl takes us back to the so-called Milesian invasion; but the division between the brothers is seldom spoken of in the territorial sense, as in the case of Leth Chuinn and Leth Moga.

The mythographers pretend, however, that Emer, the eldest brother, took the southern half of Ireland, and Erem, the younger, took the northern. But Erem, like Romulus, slew his brother and took possession of the whole island, which reads like an epitome of the history of Celtic conquest in Ireland; for Erem, genitive Erimon, means a ploughman or farmer, and the bearer of it was, in point of name at any rate, a sort of western Aryaman and Aryan invader, who slays Emer, the representative or eponymus of the aborigines. The name Emer, written also Eber, is disguised after the fashion of old Irish spelling in which every vowel-flanked *m* and *b* were pronounced like *v* or approximately so: thus you will perceive how *Emer* is really closely akin with the name of the ancient Ivernians of the country, and how it covers the historical fact, that in the two kingdoms of Munster, as the Erna of Munster, they last retained their nationality and their hostility to the encroaching Aryan. At best, the division of Ireland into two halves was of the very roughest kind; and when one wished to make any approach to accuracy it was necessary to make qualifications and reservations. The first consolidated conquests made by the Celts in Ireland consisted probably of what they called Mide or Meath, in allusion to its central

position: roughly speaking, it was the district represented by the bishopric of Meath or by the counties of Meath, Westmeath, and Dublin.

At a later stage, the Aryans probably made further conquests from Meath as their basis of operations: thus among others they extended their dominion into Ulster at a time which the chroniclers give as 331 A.D., and acquired the territory called Airgialla or Oriel, that is to say, all the south of Ulster as far as Lough Neagh, the Newry River, and Carlingford Lough. The ancient Ultonians dispossessed were pushed beyond this boundary into the north-east corner of Ireland, consisting of the present counties of Down and Antrim. To distinguish the retreating Ultonians from the Ultonians in the more indefinite acceptance of the word, the former are called True Ultonians, which the victorious Ultonians of Oriel, being Celts, were not. Besides Ultonians, they are also called Ulidians, the Old Irish name being Ulaid in the nominative case and Ultu in the accusative. Now these Ulidians or True Ultonians could not be reckoned descendants of Erem, who was the Aryan ancestor, nor could they very conveniently be associated with Emer, who was wont to be connected with the southern half of the island: so they are found treated as the offspring of an ancestor called Ir or Er, who is made out to have been another son of Míl. The fact, however, is that Ir and Emer are forms of one and the same name Iver or Ever, for according to the usual rule of Irish phonology, a *v* flanked by vowels disappears wholly, so that Ever becomes in Irish Er, and Iver becomes Ier and Iar. But owing to some peculiarity of dialect in Munster the *v* sometimes remains, and is written *m* or *b* in Old Irish not only in Emer or Eber but also in the genitive Duibne of the name of Diarmait O'Duibne's ancestress: we have inscriptional evidence that Duibne was Dovia, so that had *Duibne* followed the general rule it ought to show no *b* or any other consonant representing the *v*. Thus it turns out on examination that the legend, however manipulated in later times, makes for the common descent of the Ivernians of the south-west and the Ulidians of the north-east from one and the same son of Míl. This is not a mere matter of inference, since Emer is found also

called Ier, Er and Ir, as in the pedigree of Conaire Mór, where Ier is said to have been one of the Erna: he was in fact the eponymus of the Erna, whose name put back into its early form would be Ivernii or Evernii. This brings us near to the form given in a reference to Ireland in Adamnan's Life of St. Columba as it reads in the oldest manuscript, namely, that which dates from the beginning of the eighth century: the words in point are *in tua Evernili patria*; also to the name of Ireland as occurring in the Itinerary of Antoninus, written *Iverio*. It is a mention, which has mostly been overlooked, made of an *Insula Clota in Iverione*. Now Clota we know from other sources as a name of the river Clyde, and the island of that name was probably either Arran or Bute in the Firth of the Clyde; and it is much after the manner of Ptolemy to treat the islands on the west of Britain as belonging to Ireland, which Ptolemy did, for example, in the case of the Isle of Man, and even of Anglesey. The name Clota becomes in Welsh Clûd, which in Welsh literature is so treated as to lead one to think that it was a name belonging to Celtic mythology. In the first instance, it may be presumed that the river and the island were associated with Clota, as a divinity to whom they were once considered sacred, or with whom ancient paganism had in some way connected them. In the mediæval Welsh romances called the Mabinogion, a remarkable character called Gwawl son of Clûd figures as a solar hero: his name means light, and he is overcome by being rashly induced to step into a little bag in which he suddenly disappears, reminding one of the ancient Greek notion of the sun descending in its western course into a golden bowl. In *Iverio*, *Iverione*, it is to be noticed that we have probably a Brythonic form of the name rather than a Goidelic one, as the latter would have been declined somewhat differently, making *Iverio*, genitive *Ivereunos*, or the like.

However, we can trace the name into a nearer connection with Scotland, namely in the late form Erann, which in Irish literature does service as the genitive plural of Erna, when the Munster people of that name are spoken of: thus we read of their ancient capital as Temair Erand, 'Tara of the Erna or the Ivernians,' which lay somewhere near Castle Island in Kerry. Now this name Erann or Erand appears in the middle of Scotland,

however it came there: I allude especially to Sraith Hirend as the Goidelic representative of Strathearn, and to such phrases as *for bruinnibh Eirenn*, 'on the banks of Earn,' which show that the name was that of the river and of the loch, just as it was of a river Erne in the north-west of Ireland and of a loch in the same neighbourhood; but was it as native in Alban as it was in Ireland? that is a question which I would rather leave alone for the present. Such Greek forms of the name of Ireland as *Ἰέρων* are as modern in point of phonology as the latest Irish forms, and in this respect the Welsh *Iwerddon* and the Latin *Iberna* or *Iuberna*, as given in some manuscripts of Juvenal, are much more valuable; but all the Latin ones come down from a time when Latin *b* might also have the value of *v*. However, a graffito to be seen till lately in the Palace of the Cæsars in Rome is said to have read *Iverna*; and the reading *Juberna** is not the best which the manuscripts of Juvenal and Pliny afford, as some of the former give *Iuuerna*, which the editors, as might be expected, treat as *Juverna*, to be further murdered in some scholars' mouths into *Jewverna*. But the spelling *Iuuerna* represents not *Juverna* but *Iuverna* or *Iwverna*, which is placed beyond doubt by the early spelling found in the oldest Ogam inscriptions of Ireland and Wales. It is needless to say that it cannot be a mere accident that this unclassical spelling should have found its way into a manuscript of Juvenal. But the Ogmic doubling of the *v*, whatever it meant, was optional, so that *Iverna* must also count as a good form, and we have the *v* duly rendered by *ov* in Ptolemy's *Ἰούερον* or *Ἰούερον*, 'the Erna,' and *Ἰουερίσις*, the name of a town in Ireland. The Latin of Irish authors, with the exception of the *Evernilis*, to which allusion has been made, usually gives us the forms with *b*: thus the Confession of St. Patrick has *Yberiones* for the people of Ireland, and *Yberionacum* as a form of the adjective, which is now *Erionnach* in the sense of 'Irlandisch, or belonging to Ireland.' As to the meaning and etymology of such a name as *Iverio*, I may mention that I once suggested that it stood originally for *Piverio*, to be explained

* According to Lewis and Short, this is one of Pomponius Mela's forms of the name, but Frick in his edition, iii. 6, gives only *Iuverna*.

as of the same etymology as the Sanskrit *pīvan*, Greek *πίων*, which make in the feminine *pīvarī*, *πείρα*, 'fat,' or 'plump': thus *Erinn* would seem to mean the fat or fertile country, and this suggestion has found acceptance at the hands of no less distinguished a Celtic scholar than the Leipsic professor, Dr. Windisch. The Celts are known to drop original *p*, and my etymology is, so far as I know, phonologically admissible, but you must understand that this is no proof of its soundness: it only means that no objection to it can be raised on the score of the analogy of other words: it supplies no direct proof that it is the right account of the word. On the whole, I have been myself obliged to give it up, for two reasons: there is no proof that the word is of Celtic origin, but rather the contrary, as it reminds one of such a national name of a non-Aryan people as the Iberi of ancient Spain and Gaul; and in the next place there is no certainty that we have here to set out from the name of a country rather than from that of its people, which makes a considerable difference. For though the conjecture, that *Iverio* or *Erinn* meant the Fat Country, should pass unchallenged, we should have, on the other supposition, to regard it as deriving its name from a race which was styled, by itself or by its neighbours, the Fat Men. This is for various reasons which you can readily supply for yourselves, not highly probable; but it is nevertheless what we should have to believe if we regarded *Ever*, for instance, as etymologically prior to *Iverio* and *Erinn*. It will be seen later that this priority is not improbable; and on the whole I am disposed to regard all these names as non-Celtic words, the original meaning of which is unknown.

The first settlements of Ireland figuring in Irish literature are those associated with the names of *Partholon* and *Nemed*. The latter's name is to be found also in Welsh literature, and it is probably Celtic, as the story is both Celtic and Aryan. The story of *Partholon* is a duplicate of it, being, as I am inclined to think, roughly speaking, that of *Nemed* subjected to the modifying influences of a native Ivernian medium. This is countenanced by the fact that *Partholon's* settlement in Ireland is placed before that of *Nemed*, and more especially by the name *Partholon* itself being utterly obscure in point of meaning and

characterized by an initial *p*, which makes it impossible to regard it as originally Goidelic. Moreover Partholon is made the descendant of an ancestor called Srú, son of Esrú, and the former of these names is attested by a genitive *Srusa* in an Ogam inscription in the west of Kerry. Everything in fact goes to shew that the name of Partholon comes from the Ivernians. But, modified slightly, the name is well-known to you in this country as that of the Clan Pharlane, or Macfarlanes. The clan belongs, I learn, to the Highland district of the earldom of Lennox, and it is supposed to be so called from a certain Parlan, whose name is explained as another form of Bartholomew. The manuscripts of Nennius give the name of the Irish Partholon as Partholomæus and Bartholomæus it is true, but that is probably an instance of a superficial process of translating proper names, of which you in Scotland are not quite without instances: whence come your Hectors? have they nothing to do with the common Goidelic name Eochaidh? and has not the name Dermot, through the medium of the form Diarmait and a palatal pronunciation of the dentals, been known to be properly Anglicized as Jeremy, to the delight, no doubt, of the dreamers engaged in the task of finding the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel? Against the charter evidence, said to prove the descent of the Clan Pharlane from Parlan, grandson of Gilchrist, son of Alain, Earl of Lennox, I have nothing to say; but it does not help us to account satisfactorily for the introduction of the ancient name Parlan, and the conjecture I would offer is, that Parlan or Partholon had figured from time immemorial in the family legend of the Gaelic Earls of Lennox as a great ancestor, and possibly as a divine personage. The eventual appropriation of the name of the divine ancestor by individuals claiming descent from him has its parallel in the fate of many names of gods. In fact, the descent of the names of divinities to human namesakes is not very different in its nature from the descent of royal names from the throne to the gutter, as illustrated by the rising crop of little Victorias now said to adorn the slums of London.

The legendary account of the Milesian conquest of Ireland tells us that the island was at the time of that event under the sway of three princes, whose wives left their names to the

country, whence it may be inferred that the latter were goddesses associated with Ireland, or, perhaps, personifications of the Island or of certain parts of it. One of the three husbands is associated with Usnech in Meath, and is called Mac Greine or Son of the Sun, and the name of his wife was Eire or Erin, which is still the name of the country. That she was supposed to have a personal existence some time or other, is proved by the Welsh equivalent Iwerydd occurring both as the name of a woman and previously as that of a goddess, the mother of Bân, and inferentially wife of Llyr, god of the sea. Another of the three Irish princes of the legend was Mac Cuill, whose name is of uncertain interpretation, and whose wife was called Banba, associated with Slieve Mish in Kerry; but Banba is one of the poetic names for Ireland, and what is more curious still is, that it is the ordinary name for a part of Alban, namely Banff in the heart of the Pictish country of antiquity, not to mention a well-known Banff* in Perthshire. The remaining Irish prince in point was called Mac Cecht which has usually been supposed to mean the Son of the Plough, and is found associated with a spot in Tipperary; his lady's name was Fodla, which is also a poetic name for Ireland; nor is that all, for we find it likewise in Pictish Alban, namely in the name of Athole, which in Goidelic was written Ath Fodla, supposed to be correctly rendered into English as Fodla's Ford. Whether that be so or not, the mythographers of this country in enumerating the sons of the ancestral Cruithne or Pict, call one of them Fodla or Fotla, and treat him as giving its name to Athole. There was a fourth name of Ireland which the Irish historian Keating wished to regard as even older than the foregoing; it was Elga, which he interpreted as meaning noble. Curiously enough a nearly allied form of what seems the same name meets us in the Pictish part also of Alban, namely in the name Elgin, which is spoken of about the end of the 13th century as *Castrum de Elgyn*, and possibly the name of Glenelg in the west involves the same vocable. Now the appearance of these names and such names as these in the Pictish parts of this island, and in that

* Sir James Ramsay of Bamff House, in that locality, reminds me of the existence likewise of a Bamff Well near Coupar-Angus.

portion of Irish mythology which treats of the præ-Celtic story of Ireland is very remarkable, and the theory of their having all been imported into Britain from the Sister Island is hardly to be entertained. I am, therefore, inclined to regard the names in question as belonging, in virtue of a common speech and a common origin, to the non-Celtic aborigines of both islands.

Allusion has been made to Fodla as a son of Cruithne the eponymous hero of the Picts; but it may be further mentioned that Cruithne has in all seven sons ascribed to him to account by means of their names for the seven provinces of which the Pictish kingdom, north of the Forth, was anciently regarded as consisting. One list of these provinces is supposed to date from a time when the kingdom of the Dalriad Scots was independent of the Pictish power, and here the names offer no difficulty; for they are (1) Angus and Mearn, that is the counties approximately of Forfar and Kincardine, (2) Athole and Gowrie or Perthshire, except most of the portion of that country lying west and south of the Tay, (3) Strathearn and Menteith or the south-western portion of Perthshire, already mentioned; (4) Fife and Fothreive, or the counties of Fife and Kinross; (5) Marr and Buchan, or the counties of Banff and Aberdeen; (6) Moray and Ross, or the counties of Elgin, Nairn, Inverness, Ross, and Cromarty; and (7) Cathanesia, on both sides of the mountains. Here you see the number seven was rather traditional than real, as all the provinces are subdivided; but in the case of Cruithne's sons the number meant was undoubtedly seven, and the list may reasonably be supposed earlier than the one I have already given, for two out of the seven are subject to some uncertainty as to their identity. A quatrain ascribed to Columba gives the names thus:—

Seven sons there were to Cruithne,
Seven parts they made of Albany,
Cait, Ce, Cirig, martial men,
Fib and Fidach, Fotla, Fortrenn.

The arrangement is alliterative, as one must see at a glance; and of the seven, Cait connects himself with Caithness, Cirig with Mag Girgim, that is to say, Mearn, meaning the Plain of Girg or Girec, Fib with Fife, Fotla with Ath Fotla or Athole, and

Fortrenn with the district of that name, including Strathearn. This leaves two to be placed, namely, Ce and Fidach, who between them must be supposed to represent the Marr and Buchan, and the Moray and Ross of the other scheme; but which did Ce represent and which did Fidach? Possibly one would not greatly err in regarding Glen Fiddich in Banff as echoing the name of Fidach. In that case one might treat Fidach as the representative of the Marr and Buchan of the other list, and it would remain simply to connect Ce with the Moray and Ross of the same.

This conjecture derives confirmation from a careful interpretation of the passage in Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, where St. Columba is represented sojourning in the island of Skye. There he receives a sudden visit from two young men, who arrive in a boat, bringing with them their aged father to be baptized by the saint, but the latter can only preach to him by interpreter, though he is said to have been the chief of the *Geona Cohors*. This remarkable term cannot but suggest the question, what *cohors* can have meant in such a context, for it is not likely to have referred here to a purely military organization, but rather to one that was tribal, or, more correctly speaking, both tribal and military at the same time. This application of the word *cohors* is probably to be compared with Pausanias using the term *ἡ Γενουπία Μοῖρα* in speaking of a people of Britain in the early days of the Roman occupation. I must explain that these Genunians are represented by Pausanias as Roman tributaries invaded by the powerful tribe of the Brigantes, who thereby bring on themselves an attack at the hands of the Romans. The Brigantes occupied the country now represented by the North of England and a certain area this side of the border, while the Genunians must have been neighbours of theirs, who required to be protected against them. The nature of the feud between them is unknown, but it probably arose in part at least, from a difference of race; for the Brigantes were Brythons while the Genunians were very probably the non-Brythonic ancestors of the people known sometimes as the Picts of Galloway, and identical probably with the

Niduarian Picts of Bede. These terms *cohors* and *μοῖρα* remind me of nothing tribal among Brythonic peoples, but it is not hard to guess what Goidelic term they were both meant to render: unless I am greatly mistaken it was *dál*, which meant a part, portion or division, the etymological equivalent in fact of the English *dole*, German *theil*. *Dál* itself was very possibly but the literal rendering of a Pictish or Ivernian word which occupied the ground before the triumph of Goidelic among the aboriginal race: at any rate it occurs often enough in the tribe-names of Ireland, such as the *Dál Fiatach*, *Dál Riada* and *Dál n-Araide*, the *n* of which shows that the noun *dál* was a neuter. That is to say, when pronounced in full, at a time when the language still retained its Aryan case-endings, it was *dālōn* or *dālān*. In *Dál n-Araide* we have the nasal of the neuter retained after the vowel of the ending has been silenced: this remnant of an earlier stage is usually detected very plainly when the succeeding word begins, as it does here, with a vowel; for before a consonant assimilation takes place and *Dālōn Ceon*, which I take to have been the antecedent of the form of the name rendered *Geona Cohors* by Adamnan, must become *Dālōc Ceon*. Then a further change takes place making the *cc* into *g* according to the common habit of Goidelic speech. Thus when the vowel of the case-ending goes out *Dālōc Ceon-* (for *Dālōn Ceon-*) survives as *Dál Geon*.

The form *Geon*, however, has no existence as such except under the influence of the neuter *dál* or words like it, and as soon as it assumes an independent place it should also resume the radical form *Ceon*; but my conjecture is, that this was overlooked in the manuscripts of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, and that the reading *Geonæ Cohortis*, due in them to the influence of some such a form as *Dál Geon*, is less correct than if it had been written *Ceonæ Cohortis*. This interpretation of the term has the advantage of giving a local habitation and a name to a tribe to whom it is thus found possible to assign Cruithne's son *Ce* as their eponymous hero. This people, ignorant of St. Columba's Goidelic speech, dwelt probably on the mainland, somewhere opposite Skye as the representatives of the dominant race of Picts of which King *Brude mac Maelchon* was the powerful head at the time of St. Columba's mission. This is favoured by the

name of the old chief baptized by Columba, for it was Artbranan, which is presumably the same as the Irish *Art-bran*, and to be compared with that of *Art-Corb* mentioned in the previous lecture: neither name, so far as I know, occurs in the nomenclature of the Brythonic Celts. Lastly, it may be worth while mentioning that it is owing perhaps to the prevalence of names like *Dál Ge* or *Dál Geon* in the Western Highlands that the Norsemen gave that part of Scotland the designation of *Dalar*, which it bears in their literature.

It is not my intention in this lecture to try to discuss the names Scot and Pict; and it is needless to tell you that the former is not found confined to Scotland in the modern sense of that term: nay, the original Scotland was Ireland or a part of it. In Latin authors, *Scottus* is usually employed as the equivalent for the word *Goidel*, which it is important to bear in mind, without in any way attempting to equate these words either as to origin or original signification. The similarity of sound between *Scottus* and *Scythes* or *Scytha*, 'a Scythian,' has led the legend-mongers into all kinds of extravagance about the eastern origin of the *Scotti* and their wanderings in quest of *Erinn*. However, one item of some value seems to lie concealed beneath their heaps of rubbish, as it implies a native story which they did not entirely invent. They make *Mil*, the ancestor of the Milesian conquerors of *Erinn*, marry a daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt: she is called by them *Scotta*, whence the *Scotti* are made to derive their national name. The Milesians, including among them *Scotta*, land in the south-west of Ireland, and the lady's death in the story is associated with a spot in Kerry between *Slieve Mish* and the sea. Of course, the mention of *Scotta*, daughter of Pharaoh, required as its complement a very detailed account how the *Goidels* got into Egypt, and how they came from there through Spain to Kerry. That, however, need not detain us, and the question for us is rather how the legend-mongers came to postulate the existence of *Scotta*. In the first place, it was probably a name which they found already in existence, and belonging to the same class as *Eire*, *Banba*, *Fodla* and *Elga*: it was, I take it, countenanced or perhaps even suggested by the name of some people in Ireland. As to making

Scotta out to be a daughter of Pharaoh, the latter name is doubtless based on the superficial resemblance of a native name to the biblical Pharaoh, genitive Pharaonis, as it occurs in the Vulgate. Such a native name is by no means hard to find: in fact, the difficulty is rather that more than one such seems to satisfy the conditions. Perhaps the most probable is that of a certain Fearon, said, according to one legend, to have been one of the four sons of Partholon, who divided Erin between them as follows:—Er took the country from Ailech Néit in the north as far as Dublin; Orba the country from Dublin to the island of Barrymore, near Cork; Fearon from Barrymore to Clarin Bridge in Galway; and Feorgna from there to Ailech Néit in the north. So Fearon, whose name is the one here in question, has the very district in the south-west with which the legend associates the name of Scotta. Another legend makes Ær, Orba, Fergna and Feron, sons not of Partholon but of Emer, and all connected with Munster. This differs from the other, but that matters little; for whether you make Fearon son of Emer or son of Partholon, you make him an Ivernian, and one is thereby encouraged in supposing the name Scot derived from Ivernian origin too.

Just as *Scottus* did duty as the Latin for *Goidel* or Gael, so *Pictus* or Pict was used in Latin as the equivalent of the name Cruithne. Thus the kingdom of the Northern Picts, already mentioned as consisting of seven provinces, was termed in Goidelic Cruithen-tuath, the community of the Cruithni or Picts, and in Latin as Pictavia ‘Pictland.’ Besides this it has usually been supposed that there was, as already suggested, a Pictish people on the Solway between the Esk and Loch Ryan, but it is not so generally known that there were Cruithni or Picts in various parts of Ireland, as may be gathered from occasional allusions to them in Irish literature. Thus the epic story of the Táin Bó Cuailgne speaks of Maive, queen of Connaught, marching to devastate the Ultonians and the Cruithni, and in this connection it mentions Slieve Gulann, more usually called Slieve Gullin, in the present county of Armagh, and alludes to Maive storming Dun Severick, in the neighbourhood of the Giant’s Causeway. It is implied that one of these localities, possibly both,

were in the territory of the Cruithni. In fact this would be the country afterwards inhabited by the people driven out of Oriel by the Celtic conquests of the Three Collas in 331, the tribes already mentioned as the True Ultonians or Ulidians, and called also the Clan of Conall Cernach. The territory which they retained east of the Newry River and Lough Neagh kept the name of Ulad or Ulidia, while the people themselves of the more southern portion of that district were known specially as Cruithni and Dál n-Araide (Latinized Dalaradia), so called from an ancestor, Fiacha Araide. Their country may be said to have consisted of the County of Down and of Antrim as far as Glenarm. Beyond them, and extending as far as the mouth of the Bann, were the closely allied people called the Dál Riada. They were probably meant to be included among the Cruithni or Picts of the epic story of the Táin, but in historical allusions to them the Dalarians are usually called Picts, and the Dalriads are called Goidels or Scotti. Both peoples, driven to the north-east corner of the island, sent forth swarms to Britain; and the outcome, in the case, for instance, of the Dalriads, was the Scottic kingdom of Argyle.

What, then, was the distinction between these peoples that one tribe should be called Cruithni or Picts, and the other Goidels or Scots? It was probably one of language, and possibly of religion; the Dalriad Scots were Christians, and they probably spoke Goidelic, while the Dalaradian Picts may have been still using their native Pictish or Ivernian speech; and they remained Pagans probably later than the Scots. What other differences there may have been prominent between them it is impossible to say; but all Irish history goes to shew that they were closely kindred communities of Cruithni, and I take it that the names Cruithni and Scots may have been originally applicable to both alike. Now the term Scot, though probably one of the ancient names of the aborigines of Ireland, hardly ever occurs in Irish literature; but in its Latin form of *Scottus* it is used to translate Goidel or Gael, and this possibly gives us the kernel of the distinction between the Scots of Ireland and the Cruithni or Picts of that country: the Scots were Cruithni who had adopted the Celtic language of the Aryan conqueror in Ireland, a people

in fact that gloried in being Goidels and endeavoured to forget their Cruithnian origin. In other words, they were disposed to imitate the Aryan in their speech, in their religion, and in their institutions to the extent, for example, of giving up the so-called Pictish succession through the mother, though this continued late among the Christian Picts of North Britain. To the Brythons of antiquity Ireland was a country divided between two races, the Goidelic and the Scottic: the Goidel they spoke of by that name, as it is still in its Welsh form of Gwyddel, my countrymen's word for an Irishman. They must have also had the other word; for it was through the Brythons of South Britain that the names of the more remote peoples of these islands seem to have reached the writers of antiquity; but while the Brython might go on speaking of the non-Aryan native of Ireland who paid unwelcome visits to this country as a Scot, that Scot by and by learned a Celtic language, and insisted on being treated as a Celt, as a Goidel, in fact: that is, I take it, how *Scottus* became the word used to translate Goidel.

Let me now return for a moment to the Cruithni of Ireland, and some of the allusions to them. Among the first may be mentioned the Picts opposed to St. David in the south-west corner of Wales. Their leader was a certain Boia, whose place of abode has a name still extant at St. David's, namely, Clegyr *Vvya*. He and his people were pagans, and they may naturally be supposed to have come from some part of the south of Ireland: the name Boia seems to a certainty to connect the man so-called or his race with the Boi of the story of Cairbre Musc and his son Corc in Munster, to whom I have called attention in my Hibbert Lectures on Celtic Heathendom. In the next place may be mentioned a reference by Adamnan to a priest whom he calls *Pictus*, and whose charge he places somewhere in Leinster: it was presumably among men of his own race. But be that as it may, we are expressly told that he was Cruithnian or Pictish. Nay, there were Picts in Meath as late as the 7th century, for Tigernach, the father of Irish chroniclers, gives under the year 666 the obit of Eochaid Iarlaith, king of the Cruithni of Meath. Whether this prince was himself one of the Cruithni, or a Celt of the ruling class of the Goidels does not appear, and it is

remarkable that while he is called king of the Cruithni of Meath, his name, Iarlaith, meant either Ivernian prince or else prince of Ivernians. That can hardly be a mere accident, and one is tempted to draw the conclusion that the title 'king of the Cruithni of Meath' was only introduced as a sort of explanation of the designation Iarlaith,* whence it would follow that the *Iar* of the compound Iarlaith functioned here at one time as a synonym of *Cruithni*, and the antecedent of the *Ever* already mentioned. Such allusions as these, which careful reading would doubtless enable one largely to increase in number, go to shew that even in the most Celtic portions of Ireland the ancient inhabitants formed little islands, distinguished by the use of their ancestral speech and inherited paganism, while Celtic influence and Celtic culture had effaced them in the surrounding districts. It is natural, however, to suppose that the last thing to distinguish the Cruithni from those around them may have been a servile tenure of the soil to which they were attached.

In Connaught and Munster one should perhaps consider Celtic influence as having been comparatively late in leavening the Ivernian mass; and here the story of one of the colonizations of Ireland is worth mentioning: it is given in the Life of St. Cadroe, supposed to have been written in the tenth century. The immigrants arrive from the direction of Spain, as usual, and land somewhere in the west of Ireland: they take possession of Cloyne on the river Shannon, and find the country inhabited by the race of the Picts: *gentem Pictaneorum reperiunt*. Here may also be mentioned a tract on the servile tribes of Erin in the fifteenth century Irish codex, known as the *Book of Ballymote*: besides assigning to the Picts a part of Ulad and a locality which has not yet been identified, it places some of them in the north and some in the south of what is now the county of Roscommon. It also describes the more northernly Picts as extending from the Shannon to Lough Foyle, and from the neighbourhood of Donegal to the river Bann.

* The Angles ruling over the Picts of Galloway seem to have given their sons names exactly parallel; witness Pect-helm, the name of the bishop of Whithern and Bede's friend.

The name Pict appears to have been native in Scotland, and its treatment as synonymous with Cruithne has already been pointed out, while the inclusion of the Cruithni of Ireland in this synonymy is an important fact proving, that the peoples so designated were formerly held to be identical in habits and language to a greater or less extent, whether they were found in Britain or in Ireland. This is on the whole countenanced by Gildas in what he has chosen to tell us in his usual fashion of straining after effect. He speaks of Picts and Scots as differing from one another only in part, *moribus ex parte dissidentes*, while they agreed in several points which he has been pleased in his own way to mention, namely, the same avidity to shed blood, the same hairyness of face, the same truculence of countenance, and the same shameless habit of wearing no breeches. This is the evidence of a Brython full of the sincerest hatred for both Pict and Scot. Happily such bitterness of race in this island has long since died out. I need look for no remoter proof or pleasanter to me than the fact of my standing before you, and the indulgence with which I have thus far been heard by this intelligent audience, consisting, as it does, of the descendants not only of Brythons, but of Picts and Scots, of Norsemen and Angles alike.

JOHN RHYS.

ART. IV.—THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

PHILOSOPHERS have concerned themselves much with attempts to define Death, but as they have not been able to agree first how to define Life, it is not surprising that they have not been very successful in defining its negative. Men, for the most part, are interested more in finding practical answers to the question: 'Is life worth living?' than in pursuing scientific analyses of the nature of life itself. There is a much more general disposition to speculate on the nature of death. Life we know in some sort, but death is an absolutely unknown quantity. That which is mysterious is always more interesting than that which is patent even if uncomprehended. Life

is familiar, but death must always remain a mystery and an unsolved problem to the living being. When Faber wrote: 'Death is an unsurveyed land, an unarranged science,' he expressed what still remains the sum of our conceptions. It is true that Mr. Herbert Spencer has attempted a more scientific formula. He tells us that life is 'The definite combination of heterogeneous changes, both simultaneous and successive, in correspondence with external co-existences and sequences,'—which, if not very intelligible to the non-scientific mind, has led to much heated disputation in philosophic circles. The best that can be said for this definition is, that it is at least as near the mark as any other.

But does it bring us any nearer to a knowledge of what Death is to be told that it is simply a want of that 'correspondence' of relations which is defined as Life? Does Mr. Herbert Spencer help us any further? He says:—

'Death by natural decay occurs because in old age the relations between assimilation, oxidation, and genesis of force going on in the organism, gradually fall out with the relations between oxygen and food, and absorption of heat by the environment. Death from disease arises either when the organism is congenitally defective in its power to balance the ordinary external actions by the ordinary internal actions, or where there has taken place some unusual external action to which there was no answering internal action. Death by accident implies some neighbouring mechanical changes of which the causes are either unnoticed from inattention, or are so intricate that their results cannot be foreseen, and consequently certain relations in the organism are not adjusted to the relations in the environment.'

This defines, in a more or less satisfactory manner, the differences between the three modes of death, without at all fixing a distinct conception of death itself. The mystery of Not-being still remains greater than the mystery of Being.

When Socrates suggested that Pleasure is a state of Not-pain, the mind can more readily grasp the significance than in a thesis which declares that Death is Not-life. But Socrates, as we know, argued that while life is contrary to death, death is produced from life and life from death. He also forced the long-suffering Simmias to admit that if death is anything, it is nothing else than the separation of the soul from the body.

‘Is not this to die,’ he asked; ‘for the body to be apart by itself separated from the soul, and for the soul to subsist apart by itself separated from the body?’ Philosophy he affirmed to be in itself nothing else than a preparation for, and meditation on, death—asserting that death and philosophy have this in common, that while death separates the soul from the body, philosophy draws off the mind from bodily things to the contemplation of abstract truths. Therefore, a man who fears death can neither be a philosopher nor a true lover of wisdom.

This is all very fine, but somehow the philosophic admiration of death seems to suggest the face of Mr. Mould, the undertaker, in whose countenance a queer attempt at melancholy was at odds with a smirk of satisfaction.

What is death, says Seneca, but a ceasing to be what we were before? And where all life dies, says Milton, death lives. Which may all be accepted without in the least enlightening us about ‘the strange mysterious power, seen every day, yet never understood but by the uncommunicative dead.’ Humboldt owned that he had never known the feeling of an anxious longing for death, yet held that death is not a break in existence—it is but an intermediate circumstance, a transition from one form of our finite existence to another. Job did not feel this when he spoke of ‘a land of darkness, as darkness itself, and of the shadow of death, without any order and where light is as darkness.’ But it is difficult to think otherwise in regarding the form of a dead child, where is, as Leigh Hunt says, death in its sublimest and purest image. ‘The sense of death is most in apprehension,’ and the apprehension is more general than Southey would have it, for he declared as the result of his observation that the fear of death is not common. Where it exists, he said, it proceeds rather from a diseased and enfeebled mind, than from any principle in our nature. But he is surely wrong, for it is an ineradicable principle in our nature to fear the unknown, even while we strive with it. Even the Christian’s most ardent desire to depart and be with Christ, cannot wholly obliterate the feeling of dread of the dark passage which has to be traversed before is reached the commingling of time with eternity. The

Russian exile shudders as he crosses the river Irtysh by 'the Ferry of Death,' because he knows it will divide him for ever from what he has known, while beyond it lies the awful mystery of Siberia.

Siebenkäs, in his fantastic philosophic fashion, contended that both men and watches stop while they are being wound up for a new and larger day. The dark intervals of sleep and death, he believed, act as the preservatives against the light of an idea, which would otherwise grow too strong, and against the burning of never-cooled desires, and the mingling and commingling of thoughts, just as planetary systems are kept asunder by wide wastes. 'The eternal day, which would else blind our spirits, is divided into diurnal periods by midsummer nights, which at one time we call sleep—at another, death.'

Can it be true that, as Richter says, we shudder at death on account of the dead? If so, then no wonder the fear is so general for:—

' All that tread
The globe are but a handful to the tribes
That slumber in its bosom.'
' . . . Take the wings
Of morning and the Barcan desert pierce,
Or lose thyself in the continuous woods,
Where rolls the Oregon and hears no sound
Save his own dashings,—yet the dead are there :
And millions in these solitudes, since first
The flight of years began, have laid them down
In their last sleep : the dead reign there alone.'*

There is a wide range from such nameless graves to the storied urn and animated bust of other sepultures, but all are over-against Richter's 'hanging Eden-garden of the next life.' Even as the character of a city is written in its stones, so is the history of a people recorded in its tombs.

Man, says Sir Thomas Browne, is 'a noble animal, splendid in ashes and pompous in the grave.' But may it not be that the pomp and circumstance with which we consign the bones

* Bryant.

of our friend to their last resting-place, are not merely a tribute of respect to the departed, but in some sort a mute expression of our respectful awe of the unknown—an unconscious act of worship of death?

If Cæsar were chiefly anxious how he might die most decently, then, as Charles Lamb remarks, every burial society may be considered as a club of Cæsars. There is this difference, however, that Cæsar was concerned about the manner of dying, while burial societies are concerned about the manner of disposal of the dead. In the one case the feeling was personal; in the other it is impersonal. To use the terminology of the day, the one view of death was subjective, the other is objective.

The objective aspect is observable in the mortuary customs of different ages and peoples. We shall find some interest in following a few of them, as we now propose to do, although in a necessarily brief and somewhat haphazard manner. Enough, however, to show how, as Sir Thomas Browne says, 'Men have been most phantastical in singular contrivances of their corporeal dissolution.'

'When the funerall pyre was out, and the last valediction over,' says the author of *Hydriotaphia*, addressing My worthy and honoured friend Thomas de Gros of Crostwick, Esquire—'men took a lasting adieu of their interred friends, little expecting the curiosity of future ages should comment upon their ashes.' That is to say, they were not making deliberate records for the benefit of posterity—'having no old experience of duration of their reliques, they held no opinion of such after consideration,'—they were simply paying homage to death. And yet, in doing so, they have afforded a practical illustration of the Socratic doctrine that Life springs from Death, because the resting-places of the long-past dead have served to link the old world with the living present. Our lives are composed of the fused fragments of the past:—'A compleat piece of vertu must be made up from the centos of all the ages, as all the beauties of Greece could make but one handsome Venus.' As the cave-dwellers of the pre-historic world have transmitted to mythology the monsters of departed æons,

so the tombs of Egypt and the urns of Greece retain for us the light of vanished days.

‘Nature has furnished one part of the earth, and man another,’ says again the author of *‘Hydriotaphia.’* ‘The treasures of time lie high, in Urnes, Coynes, and Monuments, scarce below the roots of some vegetables. Time hath endlesse rarities and shoves of all varieties, which reveals old things in heaven, makes new discoveries in earth, and even earth itself a discovery. That great antiquity, America, lay buried for a thousand years: and a large part of the earth is still (buried) in the Urne unto us.’

Of the two methods of disposing of the dead—by inhumation and by cremation—Sir Thomas Browne held the former to be of older date. This he thought to be established by the example of Abraham and the Patriarchs—an example, however, which cannot be held sufficient proof in the light of modern knowledge. The practice of burning, he does not trace further back than the Homeric heroes. But Cornelius Sylla was not the first whose body was burned in Rome.

If Sun and Fire-worship be the earliest forms of religion in the world, it is reasonable to infer that cremation is older than inhumation. And yet the Chaldeans, who were fire-worshippers, regarded the burning of a human body as a pollution of their Deity; and the ancient Parsees, (as do their modern representatives) exposed their dead to the attacks of beasts of prey, caring not about the flesh, and confident in the indestructibility of the bones. It is curious, however, that the ancient German races did not regard it as a pollution of the Earth-deity to bury their dead. The Scythians, again, declined both fire and earth, and made their graves in the air, hanging the bodies on trees; while the Ichthyophagi of Egypt sought theirs in the sea. These last, it will be observed, thought to avoid corruption in the very manner which the Homeric heroes dreaded most—by the extinction of the fire of the soul in water. The old Balearians, according to Diodorus Siculus, adopted a curious compromise. They affected urn-burial without burning—crushing the flesh and bones into urns, upon which they heaped wood without fire. And that the Jews were not

unacquainted with cremation is certain, for the men of Jabesh burnt the bodies of Saul and his sons.

The Massagetæ, who, according to Herodotus, inhabited the country to the east of the Caspian, had a cheerful habit of boiling their aged and infirm relatives, and of feasting on their bodies, 'esteeming universally this mode of death the happiest.' Those who died from disease, however, were not eaten, but were buried in the earth as altogether unfortunate subjects, to be forgotten quickly as unworthy members of the family. Yet, as the Massagetæ were Sun-worshippers, we may imagine something of the religious element in the boiling process.

Herodotus says that the custom of burning the dead did not prevail in either Persia or Egypt—the Persians thinking it profane to feed a divinity with human carcases (although, with all respect to the historian, they never regarded fire as other than an *emblem* of the divinity), and the Egyptians regarding fire as a voracious animal which devours what it seizes and expires with what it consumes. In Greece, according to Xenophon, interment was common; but in Greece, according to Homer, burning was also in use before the Trojan War. There would thus appear to have been two contemporaneous methods of disposing of the dead in Greece, as there were also in Rome after Sylla, but this does not determine which was the older practice.

The Ethiopians, again, according to the Father of History, seem to have pickled their dead. They exhausted all moisture from the body, covered it with coloured plaster, and enclosed it in a 'hollow pillar of crystal, which is dug in great abundance'—*i.e.*, rock-salt. In this position, we are told, the deceased is very conspicuous through the crystal, 'has no disagreeable smell, nor anything else that is offensive.'

The Libyan Nomades, Herodotus further tells us, had the same burial customs as the Greeks, except the Nasamones, who buried their dead in a sitting attitude, and were particularly careful not to let any one expire in a reclining posture. Do we not find mention in the Ossianic poems of a similar practice in the land of Fingal? 'A cloud hovers over Cona: its blue curling sides are high. The winds are beneath it with their

wings; within it is the dwelling of Fingal. There the hero sits in darkness: his airy spear is in his hand.'

The general manner of burial among the ancient Gaels, however, according to Macpherson, was this: They opened a grave six or eight feet deep, the bottom was lined with fine clay, and on this they laid the body, and if a warrior, his sword and the heads of twelve arrows by his side. Above this they placed another layer of clay, in which was put the horn of a deer, the symbol of hunting. Then the whole was covered with a fine mold, and four stones placed on end to mark the extent of the grave. Reference to the 'fourstones' is frequent in the Ossianic poems.

Two modes of disposing of the dead were, according to Mr. du Chaillu,* prevalent among the early Scandinavians,—burning and burial. The belief of the Vikings was that the dead burned on the pyre would go to Valhalla with all the weapons and wealth burned with them. The favourite animals of the deceased were often added, and sometimes some of his thralls were killed and burned on the pyre along with him. In the Prologue of the *Heimskringla Saga* will be found support of our contention that cremation is an older practice than inhumation. For thus runs the *Saga*:—

'The first age is called the age of burning: then all dead men were burned and bautastones raised after them. But after Frey had been mound-laid at Uppsalir, many chiefs raised mounds as well as bautastones to the memory of their kinsman. Afterwards King Dan the Proud had his own mound made, and bade that he and also his horse with the saddle on, and much property, should be carried to it when dead, in king's state and in war-dress. Many of his kinsman did the same afterwards, and the mound-age began in Denmark. But the burning-age lasted a long time after that, with the Northmen and the Swedes.'

Grand and solemn was the pageant that attended the placing of the body of a great Viking on the funeral pile, when his relations and companions-in-arms took leave of him as he entered on the voyage to Valhalla. For a voyage it once literally was, as we read in the story of the death of Baldar

* *The Viking Age.* By P. B. du Chaillu.

the Beautiful, and in other Sagas. Archæology, Mr. Du Chaillu shows, as others also have shown, has proved the truthfulness of the Sagas, and has demonstrated that the burial of warriors in ships was common enough among the Norsemen. Sometimes the dead warrior was not burned, but launched adrift in his galley; at other times the funeral pyre was lighted and the ship sailed away to Valhalla with her ghastly freight in a lurid blaze.

As an example of the latter may be quoted the following from the *Ynglinga Saga*, translated by Du Chaillu:—

‘A great battle ensued: King Haki rushed forward with such valour that he slew all that were near him, he finally killed Eirik, and cut down the standard-bearers of the brothers, whereupon Jorund flew to his ship with his men. Haki received such wounds that he saw his days would not be long. He then had a *skeid* which he owned loaded with dead men and weapons, he had it launched on the sea, and the rudder adjusted, and the sea-sail hoisted. He had tarred wood kindled and a pyre made on the ship; the wind blew towards the sea. Haki was almost dead when he was laid on the pyre; then the burning ship sailed out to sea.’

Highly dramatic and strikingly picturesque was this method of those whom Mr. Du Chaillu would have us venerate as our own ancestors. But they had another method,—one of burial in ships without either launching or burning. A typical instance occurs in the Saga of Hakon the Good:—

‘King Hakon then took the ships belonging to Eirik’s sons which lay on the dry beach, and had them dragged ashore. He placed Egil Ullserk, together with all who had fallen on his side, *in a ship* which was covered with earth and stones. He also had dragged ashore several more ships, and into these were laid the dead. The mounds are still to be seen south of Frædarberg; high bautastones stand at the mound of Egil Ullserk.’

This method of entombing in stranded ships seems to have been peculiar to the Vikings, and it must be admitted that there was a certain amount of appropriateness in this practice of a seafaring race. That these ship-graves were not poetic inventions of the Saga-men has been proved by repeated discoveries of death-ships,—notably that of Gökstad. Mr. Du Chaillu has visited and described this relic.

‘Very few things in the North,’ he says, ‘have impressed me more than the sight of this weird mausoleum, the last resting-place of a warrior, and

as I gazed on its dark timber I could almost imagine that I could still see the gory traces of the struggle, and the closing scene of burial, when he was put in the mortuary chambers that had been made for him on board the craft he had commanded. The warrior had been buried according to his position in life: remains of at least twelve skeletons of horses were found in different parts of the mound on each side of the ship; there were also remains of skeletons of several dogs. The bones and feathers of a peacock were inside the ship, the prow of which looked towards the sea as if ready for a voyage.'

In mound-burial, the Scandinavians seem to have placed the dead in a sitting attitude,—often, indeed, in chairs—like the Nasamones and the Fingalian Celts. Yet another custom was to bury carriages and horses along with a chief, so that he might make a proper entry into Valhalla.

The custom of burying alive was, on the authority of Herodotus, common in ancient Persia. He mentions the instance of Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, who, when she was getting very old, commanded fourteen children of illustrious birth to be buried alive in honour of the deity who lives under the earth. In some of the Pacific islands to this day, the living are often buried, and Dr. Turner narrates several instances. Sometimes it is an infant and sometimes an aged person, but, in the latter case, only on the petition of the subject, who is given a liberal supply of pigs to maintain him on the road to Hades. Delirious and diseased persons are also buried alive in the Pacific islands as a sanitary precaution. It is interesting to note that living persons are always interred in a sitting posture.

Of certain inhabitants of Thrace,—‘next to India of all nations the most considerable,’—the ancient Trausi had a curious habit of lamenting on the birth of a child, and rejoicing, ‘with clamorous joy,’ on the death of a friend, for the dead being delivered from his miseries is, they said, supremely happy. Other Thracians, however, celebrated a death with both lamentations and rejoicings, and ‘the body is finally either buried or burned.’ They erected mounds over the remains, and then celebrated games of various kinds. Now, funeral games existed in Greece before the time of Theseus, and it is possible that all the famous games of the Grecians were

originally funeral rites. The Lacedæmonians were profuse in lamentations over the dead; and when the deceased happened to be of exalted rank, sent all their slaves and hired people to increase the chorus of sorrow. A survival of these customs may be found in the Irish wake and the Highland coronach. Whether the Lacedæmonians danced at their funeral ceremonies is uncertain, but dancing was of old sometimes used as a testimony of sorrow, and the 'death-dance' is probably even now practised by some of the Indian tribes. Festivities on the occasion of death, however, are common in many countries. Such as were held in Egypt over the death of the daughter of the Khedive in 1875, would have been sufficient, in the island of Nanumea in the Pacific, to have passed the soul of the deceased at once into Paradise. For there, as Dr. Turner tells, the future state of bliss or misery is determined by the grandeur or the stinginess of the funeral-feast provided by the survivors.

Prior to the Christianizing of Fiji—which is quite recent—it was customary both to fast and to feast in honour of the dead. In the case of a chief, the ceremonies were prolonged for twenty days, during which the young men would dance, shout, practice a variety of games, and make a general uproar. It was quite the thing in Fiji when a chief died, after his body had been washed, oiled, and decorated, to strangle his wives, attendants, and a few of his friends, so that they might keep him company in the other world. When the father of the late King Thakombau died, five of his wives were strangled, in spite of the efforts of the captain of a British warship, who lingered about on purpose to prevent the anticipated sacrifice. And Mr. Williams, the missionary, was himself witness of similar rites, of which he has given a graphic narrative. To-day, the Fijians combine the burial-rites of Christianity with the Kava-feasting of the past.

Apropos of dancing and death, one recalls the rebuke which Patrick Walker, in his 'Vindication,' says John Knox addressed to the 'Queen's maides' when he came upon them dancing in an outer court as he left the Queen:—'O brave ladies, a brave world if it would last and heaven could be hindered; but fy

upon the knave Death, that will seize upon these bodies of yours,—and where will your fiddling and flinging be then?’

The natives of the Marquesas Archipelago have a custom of their own. When a chief, dies a head must be found as a resting place for his feet in the lower world, and so the mourners go off in search of some lonely straggler to decapitate. In the Sandwich Islands it used to be the custom to bury the dead in feather-cloaks—a practice which the skeletons found in the caverns of Kentucky and Tennessee show to have once obtained also on the American Continent.

In the New Hebrides they bury their dead, but before the grave is covered up a pig is led to the place, its head chopped off and thrown in. Beside the body are buried the cups, pillows, and other paraphernalia of the deceased—a very common practice with savage races—but what is particularly noticeable is that a fire is kindled on the top of the grave. This is done ‘to enable the departed to rise to the sun,’ and if it were not done the soul, it is supposed, would go to the dark lower regions. In Samoa * the body is oiled with scented oil and partially embalmed before being buried with great ceremony and many lamentations. In the case of the death of a chief, all the tribe gather for the funeral, and a great exchange of presents takes place. Here, also, fires are lighted, not on, but near the graves, and are kept burning night and day, sometimes for ten days after the funeral. This, the Samoans say, is done in honour of the departed, but no doubt the practice had its origin in the same belief as we find in the New Hebrides. Then the Samoans are said to be as greatly concerned about the unburied dead as the Romans were at the thought of an unburied friend wandering disconsolate on the banks of Styx. In Niue, or Savage Island, ancestor-worship prevails, and there, while the dead are sometimes buried in family caverns, they are often set adrift at sea in a canoe—a method of disposal that recalls that of the ancient Ichthyophagi already mentioned, and the more recent Scandinavians.

But the most remarkable funeral ceremony probably in the

* *Samoa.* By George Turner, LL.D.

world was to be found in Tonga. On the death of a chief his wife was immediately strangled, and the day after, every man, woman, and child in the whole group of islands had their heads shaved. For a man of rank the period of mourning would last four months, while everything belonging to the deceased would be *tabu* for ten months. On the day of burial the people, all bearing torches, sat round the grave, while conch-shells were blown. Then in succession all would ascend the grave-mound, blow out their torches and lay them on the ground. But at night, when quite dark, occurred the most extraordinary part of the performance, which we will give in the words of our authority * :—‘ While this was going on (singing, conch-blowing, etc.), about sixty men would assemble near the grave for the performance of a ceremony which, I suppose, has no parallel in the burial rites of the world. It being perfectly dark, the men would approach the mound and pay their devotions to the goddess Cloacina, after which they retired to their homes. At daybreak next morning all the women of the first rank, the wives and daughters of the greatest chiefs, would assemble, and with expressions of the most profound humility, would make the place perfectly clean, and this extraordinary ceremony was repeated for fourteen nights, as was that of the burning torches.’

To turn to another part of the world, Mr. H. O. Forbes, in his account of his wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago, tells us that in Timor-Laut, the dead are placed on platforms of piles erected on the sea-shore at low-water mark. Supplies of palm-wine and sweet-potatoes are hung over the body of the dead man for his use. The survivors then bathe and feast. When the body is quite decomposed, the skull is removed and hung up in the house of the relatives to ward off evil spirits. In Sumatra, when a man dies, says the same writer, the body is brought to the headman of the village, who goes through various experiments to prove that life is really extinct. Then the juice of a lemon is squeezed over it, it is sprinkled with water, wrapped in white cloth and deposited either in a square

* *Coral Lands.* By H. Stonehewer Cooper.

plot outside the village or in some unremembered spot in the wilderness. For thus say these matter-of-fact Passumali people of their deceased friends: 'Are they not dead? That is the end of them, and what is the good of knowing more about them?'

In the island of Buru, the dead are buried in secluded parts of the forest, and the graves are isolated, but they are often marked with poles, upon which, at certain intervals, the relatives hang tobacco and other offerings.* In Timor the funeral feasts are so extensive and costly that a dead man has often to wait several months before his friends can muster the means to properly inter him. Indeed, so serious are the demands of custom that the death-feast often reduces a family to abject poverty. Pending interment, the remains are slung up beneath their tree-huts, and in the case of a poor family, many specimens of suspended humanity have to dangle for years until the feast can be provided. This feast involves the slaughter of great numbers of buffaloes, horses, sheep, and pigs, whose cheek-bones or horns are thereafter inserted in holes in a memorial pole,—the number of bones testifying to the importance of the departed. In reading Mr. Forbes' narrative one is irresistibly reminded of the old joke that the enjoyment of the good people who frequent 'tea-fights' is measured by the number of buttons swept up next morning. And after all is the Timorese fashion very different from an Irishman's 'illegant wake?'

In no country of the world is so much homage paid to death as in China. There ancestor-worship is a form of religion, and burial rites and periodical offerings to the dead furnish a religious ritual. A body cannot be buried until the geomancers have found a lucky day, and the first three weeks in April are specially devoted to the service of the dead—the festival of Ching-Ming.† Among a people so essentially ceremonious as the Chinese, the funeral ceremonies are necessarily elaborate. They are also costly, for they necessitate the provision of a

* *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago.* By H. O. Forbes.

† *Wanderings in China.* By Miss Gordon-Cumming.

vast quantity of food for both dead and living, as well as fees to the neomancers. The land in China has been described as one continuous grave-yard, and Miss Gordon-Cumming says—

‘No one can be long in China before discovering that ancestral worship is the keystone of all existence in the Celestial Empire. It permeates all life, affecting even the most trivial details of everyday existence, and is an influence tenfold more potent for keeping the people in the bondage of gross superstition than all the countless idols of the land, inasmuch as it compels every man to be for ever looking backward instead of forward, in fear lest he should by any action offend his very exacting ancestral spirits. In short, from his birth to his grave, the chief aim and end of every Chinaman is this constant propitiation of the dead.’

On the accession of a new Emperor, he goes in solemn state to the temple of Heaven in Peking and formally announces to his imperial predecessors the new titles and dignities which he has assumed. These ancestors are then dutifully invited to the banquet of commemoration, where seats are duly reserved for them. The death-customs of China, however, would need a separate article, so numerous and complicated are they. Let it just be mentioned that the value of the annual offerings of the Chinese to the dead has been estimated at £32,000,000 sterling!

That we do not need to go so far as China or Timor for examples of extensive outlay in connection with funerals will at once occur to any reader familiar with John Maidment's notes on ‘Scottish Elegiac Verses.’ The book, however, is rare. Maidment says that ‘the Scots’ had always a violent passion for ostentation in these matters, and that, after the Restoration, the expenses incurred at marriages, baptisms, and *funerals* had become so burdensome that the Legislature had to interfere. An Act was passed in the reign of Charles II., restricting the number of persons to be invited to a burial according to the rank of the deceased; prohibiting the use of banners and mourning cloaks; enacting that the bodies should only be buried in ‘plain Scots linen;’ and fixing the price to be paid for coffins, which, no matter what the rank of the deceased, was not to exceed ‘one hundred merks Scots.’ Even this was not enough to check the expenditure, and another Act was passed in the reign of William and Mary, to

limit, among other items, the price to be paid for winding-sheets. The laws proved inoperative, however, and fell into disuse; while display and profuse expenditure—especially in liquor—continued. Miss Mure in her ‘View of the Change of Manners in Scotland,’ says that no fewer than 1500 invitations were issued to the funeral of her father, and that in her day it was the fashion for ladies to follow a corpse in full dress, ‘with coloured clothes.’*

One of the items of expenditure which became fashionable after the Restoration was the payment of rhymsters to write Funeral Elegies. Quite a host of poetasters traded on this fashion, and the specimens which Mr. Maidment collected of their effusions show that the majority would have been dear at any price. Neither in veracity nor in literary quality do these Scottish elegiac writers seem to have been better than he who wrote the famous epitaph of the lady who was ‘bland, passionate, and deeply religious; she painted in water-colours, and sent several pictures to the Dublin Exhibition; she was first cousin to Lady Jones, and of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.’ An epitaph which is even exceeded by an obituary notice of a Miss Wallace. Of this lady it was recorded that ‘Her conduct was beyond all praise. She engaged in ornamental working on glass, confided greatly in others, and died in squalid penury!’ As for the Funeral Poets, a casual perusal of Mr. Maidment’s collection leaves the impression that if, as he says, the poetaster was a person as necessary as the undertaker, one would rather remain unburied than be so atrociously sung.

To resume our survey, however, the author of *Primitive Culture*, Mr. Tylor, says that the Congo negroes abstain for a whole year after a death from sweeping the house, lest the dust should injure the delicate organism of the ghost; that the Hottentots leave a dead person’s abode at once in case of preventing the exit of the spirit: and that in Old Calabar, a son allows the house of his dead father to go to decay for two years, and then only begins to rebuild it after the spirit has

* *Caldwell Papers.*

had time to get finally away. It would be interesting to trace analogous superstitions among civilised peoples, but that would open up the wide and fertile field of the folklore of death which is beyond our present scope. Let us, however, here note a funeral ceremony of which Mr. Joseph Thomson gives an account in *Through Masai Land*. He is referring to the Nyassa country :—

‘I had a very good opportunity afforded me of observing what takes place on the death of a child. One morning, near my tent, a small boy died. Throughout the day the father and mother kept up a continual wail, now rising into howls, anon into screams. Friends and passers-by added their voices to the dirge, and occasionally broke into a dance. In the afternoon a grave was dug immediately outside the door, and beneath the eaves of the hui. When this was ready the dead child was brought out for the last look. Everyone then broke into sobbing howls, as the father suddenly laid hold of it with convulsive energy and laid it in the grave, while the mother threw herself on the ground and rolled about in the ecstasy of her grief. The father, little less affected and wailing sadly, was suddenly aroused by indignant protests from some of the grey-beards. He had laid the corpse in the wrong position ! The father declared he had done quite right, and a lull in the wailing took place as they yelled and screamed at each other excitedly over this point. At last the father was shouted down, and had to alter the position, whereupon the wails and howls were resumed. The point of dispute was whether the face of the child should be towards the house or away from it. This having been put right, a single tree-leaf was placed below the lower ear and another over the upper, while a tuft of grass was placed in the child’s hand. This finished, a new howl was raised, which rose into a storm as the father and mother pushed the soil over the little naked body with frantic energy. A final howl being given and a dance performed, the party adjourned till the moon rose, and then with deep libations of pombè (native beer) they danced and threw their shoulders (not their legs) about to allay the grief of the parents and soothe the spirit of the buried child. The first person who dies in a new house is buried inside it —the second outside.’

Now, here we observe in an African race of our own day the lamentations, the dance, and the feast, which we have seen elsewhere, but all combined. And we see more. The tree-leaf is very suggestive. As Sir Thomas Browne reminds us, bay-leaves were found green in the tomb of St. Humbert after an hundred and fifty years. The Thessalians used amaranthus to adorn the tomb of Achilles. Electra complained that myrtle

was not laid on the grave of Agamemnon. To this day, Mr. Thistleton-Dyer says it is customary in some parts of Wales for funerals to be preceded by a woman carrying sprigs of bay, the leaves of which she sprinkles along the road before the corpse; and we know how common is now the beautiful custom of placing flowers upon the coffin. Says Sir Thomas Browne:—

‘That in strewing their tombs the Romans affected the rose, the Greeks amaranthus and myrtle, and the funeral pyre consisted of sweet fuel, cypress, firre, larix, yewe, and trees perpetually verdant, lay silent expression of their sorrowing hopes. Wherein Christians, who deck their coffins with bays, have found a more elegant emblance. For the tree seeming dead will restore itself from the root, and its dry leaves resume their verdure again; which, if we mistake not, we have also observed in furze. Whether the planting of yewe in churchyards hold not its original from ancient Funerall Rites, or as an Embleme of Resurrection from its perpetual verdure, may also admit conjecture.’

And when, as Browne remarks, ‘Christians dispute how their bodies should lye in the grave,’ we do not seem so far away from Nyassa after all!

It is very common among savage races to believe that death does not occur naturally, but that if a man is not killed by an open enemy he is slain by sorcery. We find this to be the case in most of the instances cited. Mr. Moncure Conway comments on the fact in his book on Demonology, and infers from it that the belief in a demon, a devil, or evil spirit sprang from this idea. This is a point we shall not discuss here, but the association of witchcraft with death is an old and familiar one in our own country. Within living memory, persons suspected of ‘The Evil Eye’ have had to suffer for the sins of others.

Whatever we may think of Mr. Conway’s devil theory, however, he is probably right in tracing the ‘Dance of Death’ masquerades of mediæval Europe to the Hindu myth of Kali, who is analagous to the Scandinavian Hel. Of Kali, whose practice it was to perform a wild dance of delight over the dead, the legend records that she is pleased for a hundred years by the death of a tiger; for a thousand by the death of a man; for a hundred thousand years by the blood of three

men. Governed by such a law of increasing returns, what must be the duration of her ecstasy now? The Thugs, who regard Kali as their patroness, claim that she left them one of her teeth for a pickaxe, her rib for a knife, the hem of her garment for a noose, and wholesale murder for their religion. A more attractive figure in Hindu mythology is Yama. He was the first man to die, and he became Monarch of the Dead. But, according to Max Müller, he also became invested with metaphors of the sun that had set, and sunset suggests something beyond. 'It is one of the most picturesque facts of mythology,' says Mr. Conway, commenting on this, 'that after Yama had become in India another name for death, the same name appeared in Persia, and in the *Avesta*, as a type at once of the Golden-age in the past, and of Paradise in the future.'

We extract the history of the world from the pyramids of Memphis, the tombs of Thebes, the temples of Greece, and the urns and sarcophagi of Etruria. Not a year passes but the disinterred dead add a page or two to that history. Within recent years, ancient sepulchres have been discovered near Rome, which illustrate the times of one of the first twelve Cæsars. Just so do we discern the life of prehistoric man in the dumb records left by the cave-dwellers, and even as the pyramid-builders supplied their dead with food for sustenance in the dark nether-world, so to-day do the Pacific islander and the African savage. And as the Egyptians glorified their dead in engraved stones, so do we seek to perpetuate the memory of those who have gone from us, in florid inscriptions. To perpetuate? 'Our fathers find their graves in our short memories, and sadly tell us how we may be buried in our survivors. Grave-stones tell truth scarce forty years. Generations pass while some trees stand, and old families last not three oaks. To be read by bare inscriptions, to hope for eternity by enigmatical epithets, or first letters of our names, to be studied by antiquaries, who we were, and have new names given us like many of the mummies,—are cold consolations unto the students of perpetuity, even by everlasting languages.'

To perpetuate! The foundations of some of the roads in

Paris are made of modern tombstones, and pieces of monumental erections have been found among the débris of a London contractor. Epitaphs, as Oliver Wendell Holmes remarks, were never famous for truth, but they never seem more deserving of reproach than in our modern displacement of tombs, where the stone does lie above and the bones do not lie beneath.

BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

ART. V.—THE WICKED CLAN GREGOR.

THERE are some minor episodes in Scottish history that illustrate with singular force the native intensity of character and fervour of attachment to traditional systems, which so often made the nation's progress towards the universal reign of law a blood-stained path. The case of Clan Gregor is perhaps the most typical of these episodes, which marked the transition from the old Celtic system of the military organization of the clans under the chiefs of their names to the territorial system by which the men of the tribes became the men of their feudal landlords. But though its tragic and romantic elements have been often dealt with, the true story of the doings and sufferings of the devoted clan has yet to be dug from the dry-as-dust sources of historical narrative in contemporary records, and the purpose of this paper is merely to show that the records contain materials for such a narrative.

The materials for the history of the Clan Gregor and the genealogies of their principal families are derived chiefly from three sources. The fullest of these, and the most authentic, is 'The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.' The second is 'The Black Book of Taymouth' (Bannatyne Club), in which, along with the genealogy of the Campbells of Glenurchy compiled after 1598, there is a brief genealogy of the MacGregors, and a chronicle written by a curate of Fortingall, who entered on his duties there in May 1532, and made his last entry on 25th April 1579. In its earlier portions this chronicle is nearly

the same as that of the Dean of Lismore's Book, and they both agree in the special feature that they are largely occupied with incidents and events relating to the history of the MacGregors. This is explained by the fact that the writers of both were MacGregors. The Dean of Lismore's Book also, besides the well-known collection of Gaelic poems, contains a prose genealogy of the MacGregors written by Duncan the Dean's brother in 1512, and among the earlier poems there are several in which the descent of the MacGregor chiefs from Kenneth MacAlpin is celebrated in the high-sounding strains of the Highland seannachies. It is a striking picture which is thus given of the MacGregor of the first half of the fifteenth century—'the Saxon's terror'—surrounded by his fierce men, whose hosting and hunting are varied with the music of the harp and the songs of the bards, and with games of skill and chance, while their chieftain is represented as dispensing hospitality, and bestowing gifts of horses and of gold with more than regal munificence. But it is quite another picture that is presented by the sober light of authentic record. The chronicles before mentioned merely relate the obits, and record the burials of the chiefs who from 1390, to near the time of the Reformation were successively laid in their stone coffins on the north side of the high altar of the church of Dysart, now Dalmally, where the anchorite St. Conan had of old his *desertum* or eremitical cell. There is no evidence to establish the assertion that the chiefs of MacGregor were originally lords of Glenurchy. Even their own bards seem to claim for them no higher rank than that of Toiseachs. Setting aside the single instance in which the chronicler has styled the first of those whose obits are given, as 'of Glenurchy,' we find them from 1390 to 1554 as vassals of the Earl of Argyle in the twenty merkland óf Stronmelochan and Glenstrae, and after that, to 1590, as vassals of the Campbells of Glenurchy.

There is no indication of the reason why the members of the clan when they first appear in record are found scattered over such a wide area of the Perthshire and Argyleshire Highlands, unless it be simply that they had spread themselves over the adjacent lands and baronies as best they could, in consequence of

their chiefs holding no lands of the Crown. We find them located in Glenurchy and Glenloch, Strathfillan and Glendochart, Breadalbane and Balquhidder, Glenlyon and Rannoch. Although by the immemorial custom of the Highlands, to which they most tenaciously clung, they owed military service to the chief of their own name only, he was not at any time within the ken of record in a position either to provide them with homesteads or protect them in their possessions. While the lands on which they had settled remained in the Crown they might be safe from eviction, but when the Crown lands came to be granted out to local barons, the grantees naturally desired to settle their new estates with their own men, on whom they could depend for thankful service and punctual payment of rents. The MacGregors, on the other hand, in all such cases immediately found themselves in the position of occupants of the lands of owners to whom they were unacceptable as tenants, and who desired nothing better than to be rid of them at any price. The inevitable consequences followed—eviction, resistance and retaliation. The evicted tenants sought shelter among their kinsmen who still possessed lands, as sub-tenants or squatters; or they became ‘broken men,’ and betook themselves to the hills to live on the plunder of the lands from which they had been ejected. We have incidental notices in the Exchequer Rolls of such spoliation and slaughter by the broken men of Clan Gregor so early as 1453, and ‘for the stanching of theft and other enormities in the Highlands’ an Act was passed in 1488, under which, among other Lords and Barons, Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, Neil Stewart of Fothergill, and John Campbell of Glenfalloch, were invested with the powers of King’s Lieutenants, to pursue and put to death all such offenders throughout the MacGregor country. This was the first of a long series of similar enactments by which the MacGregors were placed entirely at the mercy of their natural enemies. The chief of the clan at this time was John Dhu MacPatrik, but the active leader of the ‘broken men’ was Duncan Laideus or Laudosach of Ardchoille Wester. His exact relationship to the House of Glenstrae is not clearly made out, but it was close enough to give colour to his claim to the succession upon the death of John

Dhu MacPatrik, and, this failing, to entitle him to be nominated as tutor during the pupillage of his successful rival's son and heir. His exploits have been rendered famous by the remarkable poem entitled 'The Testament of Duncan Laideus,' which has been printed in 'The Black Book of Taymouth.' The events narrated in the poem appear to lie with the first fifty years of the 16th century, and so far as the narrative can be tested from extraneous sources it seems to be fairly correct in sequence and incident. It represents the hue and cry raised by the royal proclamation driving Duncan and his followers into Lochaber, whence they are hunted by the Earl of Argyle to fall into the clutches of Glenurchy. It so happens that Glenurchy's men are mustering for the invasion of England by King James IV., and there is no time to 'justify' the prisoner, who is thrust 'into ane dungeon deep'—

'Fast into fetteris fessonit and sair pynit.'

At Flodden, Glenurchy and Argyle 'deit valiantlie together' and together they were buried at Kilmun. There was one man in Scotland to whom the news of the national disaster brought more joy than sorrow. Says Duncan Laudosach:—

'This hard I all, liand in deep dungeon,
I thocht me then half out of my presoun.'

Persuading his keepers to connive at his escape, he was soon again at the head of a band of outlaws, who 'flew to meet him swift as ony swallows.' Spies were sent out to track them through Lochaber, but the untimely death of King James V. threw the country again into confusion, and Duncan Laudosach took the opportunity to wreak his vengeance on the Clan Lauren in Balquhiddel, of whom he slew twenty-seven in one day. On the death of John Dhu MacPatrik in 1519 (whose only son had predeceased him), his second cousin, John MacEwin V'Alaster, became the nominal chief of the clan, partly through the influence of the Campbells of Glenurchy, with whom he was connected by marriage. His son Alaster, born in 1514, was a minor at the time of his father's death in 1528. He was never enfeoffed in Glenstrae, and seems to have made common cause with Duncan Laudosach, who was his tutor. Their scene of

action shifts to Rannoch, where a colony of MacGregors had been long settled, who were now maintaining themselves against their feudal overlord, Menzies of Weem, and 'withholding his lands from him masterfullie.' With the assistance of the Earl of Athole, Menzies proceeded in 1531 to drive out the hornets, and the result is thus recorded in the Chronicle of Forthingall:— 'Rannoch wes hareyd the morne eftir Sant Tennennis day in hairst be John Erle of Awthoell, and be Clan Donoquhy, and at the next Belten (May) eftir that the Brae of Rannoch wes hareyd be them, and Alaster Dow Albrych wes heddyt at Kenlochrannoch.' The Clan Donoquhy (Robertsons) had the tables turned upon them in 1545, when Duncan Laudosach and Alaster MacGregor of Glenstrae burnt the house of Throchcare in Strathbraan, and took the chief of the Robertsons captive. A daring attempt by the MacGregors to capture or destroy the family of Glenurchy when on a visit to Glenlyon, failed of its object, as Duncan's Testament says—

'Quhen we trowit best to cum to our desyre,
The brig brak and we fell in the myre.'

By this time the Earl of Argyle was moving to avenge the slaughter of the Clan Lauren, and the next we hear of Duncan Laudosach is in connection with the deed which brought his career to a close. In July, 1550, Alaster Owir, tacksman of Wester Morinche, near Killin, signed a bond of manrent to Colin Campbell of Glenurchy 'to be ane faithful servant to him all the days of his life, and to ryd and gang on horse and on fut in Hieland and Lawland when required, and not to take part with MacGregor, his chief, against the said Colin, but to be an evinly man for baith the parties,' and made Sir Colin his heir in case of his death without lawful children. This was the beginning of a policy fraught with ruin to the clan, and Duncan Laudosach took such measures as seemed to him calculated to deter other MacGregors from transferring their obedience from the chief of the clan to the feudal overlord. On Sunday, the 22nd November, 1551, he and his son Gregor came to Morinche, took Alaster Owir furth of the house and slew him, and took his purse with forty pounds in it, and passed to Killin to the house of John

M'Bain, and 'brak in the door and took him furth and strak his head from his body.' On the 11th of March thereafter, Glenurchy takes a bond of manrent from James Stewart, Alexander Drummond, and Malcolm Drummond, for all the days of their lifetime, and 'in special with their hail power, with their kin, friends, and part-takers, to pursue to the death Duncan Laudosach and Gregor his son. Nevertheless, in May, 1552, Colin Campbell of Glenurchy subscribes a deed by which he receives Duncan Laudosach and Gregor his son in his maintenance, 'and the zeal of luf and gude conscience moving him thereto, has forgiven them all maner of actions and faltis provided they fulfil their band and manrent made to him in all points.' It is impossible to determine whether this was a masterstroke of the same policy by which Glenurchy was now detaching so many members of the clan from their allegiance to the chief of their name, or whether it was a deliberate device to tempt the two leaders, whom he could not capture, to place themselves in his power. But the result is not doubtful, for on the 16th of June, the Chronicle of Fortingall records the beheading of Duncan Laudosach and his two sons, Gregor and Malcolm Roy, by Colin Campbell of Glenurchy.

Two years after the execution of Duncan Laudosach, in 1554, Archibald Earl of Argyle sold the superiority of the twenty marklands of Glenstrae to Colin Campbell of Glenurchy, and granted the ward and marriage of Gregor MacGregor, heir of the now deceased Alaster, to Colin Campbell, younger, of Glenurchy. Gregor was married to a daughter of Campbell of Glenlyon, but was never invested in Glenstrae. In 1562 we find him leading the life of an outlaw, and in the following year he appears at the head of a band of 120 broken men ravaging the Crown lands; and Glenurchy has a commission to take him and a gift of his escheat. In 1563 the curate of Fortingall notes in his Chronicle that it had been 'ane gude symmer and gude hairst, pece and rest, except the laird of Glenurchy wroth aganis Clan Gregor.' In July of this year Queen Mary was at Inveraray, and after conference with Argyle she issued authority to him and Glenurchy for free quarters to their men when out hunting the MacGregors. From another missive issued by the Queen at

Glentilt in July, we learn that the pursuit of the MacGregors had caused many of them to flee to Ireland, and that 'now when the nicht grows lang' they intended to return and harry the tenants of the Campbells. But at the same time she reminds Glenurchy, who had been placing men of Clanranald on the MacGregors' lands of Rannoch, 'that it is not right to output the MacGregors and input other broken men,' and commands him to cease therefore the work he had begun of rebuilding the house of strength in the Isle of Loch Rannoch, as well as the inbringing of strangers of other clans. In the same considerate spirit she writes from Drymen to Menzies of Weem on behalf of a number of the Clan Gregor who had been ejected from his lands, but were now received to the Queen's peace—'as they cannot live without some rounes we pray you to permit them to occupy the same lands they had of you before, and mak them reasonable takkis thairupon, upon usual terms, as ye will do us thankful plesour.' In 1564 the first of the intercommuning Acts was passed, imposing heavy penalties on those who gave shelter or supplies to the MacGregors, or had any manner of dealings with them. It narrates that Gregor MacGregor, *alias* Laird MacGregor, and certain of his kinsmen had been leaders of a band of outlaws for two years, and had committed many heinous crimes. A great foray by the MacGregors on the lands of Menteith followed, and the Earl of Argyle, in virtue of his commission as Queen's Lieutenant, calls out his barons and tenants 'to raise the shout against Clan Gregor and pursue them with fire and sword,' giving full commission to every man within his bounds 'to tak and apprehend the said Clan Gregor quhair-evir they may be gottin, and the takors thereof to have their escheats'—a bribe not easily resisted.

It was at this time that a tragical affair occurred on Loch Tay side, in which a family of Macgregors to whom the literature of Scotland owes a deep debt of gratitude were involved, and which also led to a romantic incident in the administration of justice at Edinburgh. At Tullichmullin in Glenlyon, close to the Kirk-town of Fortingall there lived a family descended from a vicar of Fortingall, of which Dougal Maol Mac Ane Raoch, or Dougal the Bald (or tonsured) son of John the Grizzled—called shortly

Dougal Johnson, was the head. Of his two sons, James and Duncan, we know that the former was Vicar of Fortingall and Dean of Lismore, to whom we owe the collection of Gaelic poetry and the Chronicle that goes by his name, while the latter is the Duncan MacCowle Voil or son of Bald Dougal, who is author of five of the poems in the Dean's collection, and of the genealogy of the MacGregors. James had two sons, Gregor and Dougal, patronymically styled Deneson, as being sons of the Dean. Dougal subsequently became Chancellor of Lismore, but Gregor, who after his father's death in 1557 had renounced MacGregor his chief and bound himself to Glenurchy, was slain on June 11th 1565, as described in the Chronicle of Fortingall—'slain were Gregor son of the Dean of Lismore and Robert MacConil V'Gregor on Pentecost Day, after midnight, and the house was burned, and they slain by James MacGestalcar, and buried in the same grave in the choir of Inchaïn,'—the old church of Kenmore. An unexampled thing thereupon occurs. Queen Mary directs a missive to the Justice Clerk—understanding that Patrick Duncanson and other MacGregors (of whom ten are named in the document) are under surety, and that Gregor Deneson has been murdered by rebels, for pursuit of whom 'nane are mair meet than the above-named MacGregors having their kinsman slain,' and that in consequence of their being under caution in the books of Court, 'they dare not put on arms and pursue the murderers.' therefore, the Justice Clerk and Clerk of Council are commanded to delete from their books all acts by which they are in any wise restricted.' The result of this license is seen from an entry under July 27th 1565 in the chronicle of Fortingall—'James MacGestalcar killed with his accomplices by Gregor MacGregor of Stronemelochan, and his followers at Ardowenec.' In 1569 Gregor MacGregor and fifteen of the ClanGregor are forfeited, and their escheats given to Alexander Stewart of Pittarg, for the slaughter of two persons of the name of Stewart in Balquhiddier, and a commission is given to Colin Campbell of Glenurchy 'to justifie Gregor MacGregor of Glenstrae.' On the 7th April 1570, is the brief entry in the Chronicle of Fortingall—'Gregor MacGregor of Glenstrae heddyt at Balloch'—now Taymouth. But the

MacGregors had their revenge. On the 22nd August is another entry in the same Chronicle—‘John MacConil Dow slain besyd Glenfalloch, and thirteen men of the Laird of Glenurchy’s men slayn that day be the Clan Gregor.’

Gregor Roy was succeeded in the chieftainship by his son Alaster, who was a mere child at the time of his father’s execution. His uncle Ewin was his tutor till 1587. In consequence of the disturbed condition of the Highlands, an Act of Parliament had been passed in 1581, making it lawful for all good subjects who had received skaith from broken men either to apprehend or slay the persons thus offending and arrest their goods, or if the actual delinquents could not be laid hold of to apprehend and slay the bodies and arrest the goods of any others being of the same clan, their servants, dependers, or partakers, wheresoever they might find them, aye, and until the chief or others of the clan should cause the skaith to be redressed to the satisfaction of the sustainers thereof. This iniquitous enactment practically outlawed the whole of the Clan Gregor, and drove many of the better disposed among them to renounce their chief and seek the protection of the Campbells, or other overlords. In August, 1586, letters of horning are recorded at Perth at the instance of John Drummond of Drummondernoch and others, against Alaster MacGregor of Glenstrae, his tutor Ewin, and between 70 and 80 MacGregors mentioned by name, on the allegation of theft and spulzie of the lands of the complainers. Five days afterwards, the MacGregors so charged are denounced rebels, and the Earl of Montrose has a gift of their escheats. In 1587, another Act of Parliament was passed declaring that theft by landed men should be accounted treason, and causing the chiefs of clans to be noted in a roll and obliged under pain of fire and sword to surrender sufficient hostages from among their families and kin, who should be liable to suffer death if redress of injuries were not promptly made by those for whom they were entered as pledges. The immediate consequence was a general effort on the part of all who had members of the Clan Gregor on their lands to get rid of them, and during the next two years the Sheriff Court Books of Perth show many actions of ejectment against the MacGregors. To what straits they

were reduced by the operation of these enactments the tenor of a tack on the estate of Glenurchy will show. By the terms of this tack, which set to two brothers (Campbells)—called patronymically Donald and Dougal MacTarlich—two merklands of land in Glen-nevern and one merkland in Elir in Lorne, the said Dougal and Donald bound themselves ‘that we, with the hail cumpanie and forces that we can mak, sall enter into deidlie feid with the Clan Gregor, and sall continue in making of slaughter upon them and their adherents, baith privilie and opinie, and sall be na maner of way or persuasion leave the same or cease therfrae, unto the time the said Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy find himself be our travel and diligence satisfeit with the slauchter we sall do and commit upon them and withdraw us thairfra, as also till he find a way to mak an agreement and pacification betwixt us and the Clan Gregor for the slauchter we sall commit upon them.’ To understand this, it is necessary to suppose that the MacTarlichs had an old blood feud against the MacGregors, and it is the case that in 1563 Colin Campbell of Glenurchy had a gift of the escheats of the chief of MacGregor and six of his kinsmen for the slaughter of Tarloch Campbell, who may have been the father of these two MacTarlichs. Of course, such an agreement could not have been made with impunity, but for the sanction of the enactments of 1581 and 1587, which made slaughter of this kind a legal resource to those who had wrongs still unredressed by the MacGregors.

The resentment of the clan aroused by the hornings and ejections following on the process against them by Drummond of Drummondernoch was speedily manifested in the dreadful outrage which so fiercely inflamed the anger of King James VI. against the clan, and was the beginning of the most tragical part of their history. There are three different accounts of the murder of John Drummond of Drummondernoch by the Clan Gregor. The first is contained in a bond executed at Balloch (Taymouth) in October, 1589, between Lord Drummond, the chief of the name, the Earl of Montrose, the Commendator of Inchaffray, and Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, setting forth that ‘because the Clan Gregor in September last slew John Drummond in Glen-artney, being under their double assurance (one given on the

Monday before the murder), the said John being directit be his chief at His Majesty's command for getting of venison to have been sent to Edinburgh to His Majesty's marriage, the said clan cuttit and aftuik his heid, and thereafter conveyen the rest of the clan and setting down the heid before them, thereby caused them to authorise the murder,' therefore the parties to the bond agree to pursue the Clan Gregor; Lord Drummond undertaking to furnish forty men, the Earl of Montrose thirty, and Sir Duncan Campbell sixty. The second account, in the records of the Privy Council, gives the MacGregors the opprobrious name of 'the wicked Clan Gregor,' by which they are stigmatised in all the public records henceforward. It also supplies such additional particulars as that 'after the murder committit, the authors thereof cut off the said unquhile John Drummond's head, and carried the same to the Laird of MacGregor, who, and the whole surname of MacGregors, purposely convened upon the next Sunday at the Kirk of Balquhiddel, where they caused the said John's head to be presented to them, and there avowing the murder to have been committit by their common counsel and determination. laid their hands upon the pow, and in eithnick (heathenish) and barbarous manner swore to defend the authors of the said murder.' The third account is in the Register of Hornings at Perth, in a horning at the instance of the wife and children and remanent kin of John Drummond against Alaster MacGregor and upwards of 100 of the clan, mentioned by name, charging them with having come 'to the number of 400 persons, and setting upon John Drummond cruellie murdered him, cuttit off his heid [this word is scored out and the word "hand" interlined] and carried the same to the Laird MacGregor, quha with the hail persons above-written, purposely convened upon the next Sunday at the Kirk of Balquhiddel, where they caused the said John's *hand* be presented to them, and allowed that the said murder was done by their common consent and counsel, laid their hands upon the same and swore to defend the authors thereof against all that would seek the revenge thereof.' The complexion of this heathenish oath is scarcely altered whether it may have been taken upon a dead man's head or upon his dissevered hand, but it is a matter of interest to find the docu-

ments at variance as to whether it was the head or the hand of the ill-fated forester of Glenartney that was brought to the Kirk of Balquhiddar for this dreadful rite. The substitution of the hand for the head would effectually dispose of the still more ghastly legend of the bread and cheese incident, and the melancholy fate of the lady of Ardvoirlich, so graphically related by Sir Walter Scott.

In July following, on the statement to the Privy Council that the Clan Gregor are roving through the Highlands in great companies, and have burnt houses, and slain and harried, in such sort that many men's lands are altogether laid waste, a commission of fire and sword is given to Glenurchy, not only against the Clan Gregor but against all who reset and harbour them. How he availed himself of the power thus put into his hands may be inferred from the fact that in December the complaints against him compelled the Council to charge him not to invade any of His Majesty's subjects otherwise than by order of law and justice. This did not apply to the MacGregors, who had been denounced rebels, but although licence was shortly afterwards given him to contract bonds of friendship and reconciliation with them, he proceeded to obtain a decree of ejection against Alaster MacGregor, the chief, from his lands of Glenstrae and Stronemelochan in August, 1590. In the course of the next year, King James, on the understanding that all deadly feuds between Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy and Alaster Roy MacGregor of Glenstrae and his clan have been removed, grants special license to Sir Duncan to infest Alaster Roy in the 20 merklands of Stronemelochan and Glenstrae without being in any way answerable for him or his kinsmen. It does not appear however, that the infestment ever took place. In January 1592, there is a remission to Alaster MacGregor of Glenstrae, John Dhu his brother, Dougal of the Mist, and all the rest of them for the murder of John Drummond of Drummondernoch, the customary compensation having been no doubt given to the relatives, though there is no direct evidence of this. Yet in the same year the Privy Council understanding that 'the wicked Clan Gregor' and other broken men have continued in slaughter, reiffis and sornings, grant commission to the Earl of Argyle to

cause them enter their pledges for obedience to the laws, and to take and execute those that remain disobedient, half of their escheats going to the Earl for his trouble. The temper of the King towards the unhappy clan may be divined from the tone of a letter written from Holyroodhouse in March 1596 to Macintosh of Moy Hall:—

‘JAMES R.—Right Trusty Friend, we greet you heartily weill. Having heard by report of the late proof given by you of your willing disposition to our service in prosecuting of that wicked race of MacGregor we have thought meet hereby to signify unto you that we account the same as most acceptable pleasure and service done unto us, and will not omit to regard the same as it deserves, and because we are to give you some further directions thereanent it is our will that upon sight hereof ye repair hither with all speed and at your arriving we shall impart to you our full mind, and herewithal we have thought expedient that ye before your arriving hither shall cause execute to the death Duncan M’Ean Cam lately taken by you in your last [expedition] against the Clan Gregor and cause his head to be transported hither to the effect thè same may be affixed in some public place to the terror of other malefactors—and so commit you to God.’

On 17th July of the same year, Alaster MacGregor of Glenstrae appeared at Dunfermline as a suppliant, and in presence of the King and Council, ‘in maist humble manner acknowledging his offences and disobedience,’ entered himself as pledge and surety for his clan, and was forbidden to leave the Court without the King’s leave. But the Court was no place for MacGregor, and there can be no doubt that he took the first opportunity of escaping to the mountains. In November of the same year he felt the grip of the lion’s jaws, and realised for the first time the meaning of what he had done at Dunfermline in becoming surety for the good behaviour of his clan. He was proclaimed at the horn and made the King’s rebel, because his brother, John Dhu nan Lurag, or Black John of the mail-coat, had committed spulzie on the lands of Graham of Fintry, and he, as the chief and surety for the clan, had failed to present Black John and his accomplices to underlie the law. In 1597 the MacGregors on the lands of Glenfalloch, among whom was Duncan Abrach of Archoile Wester, son of Gregor Laudosach, were ejected from their holdings by Robert Campbell, son of

Black Duncan of Glenurchy, who had received a charter of these lands formerly belonging to Campbell of Strachur. At this time it may be affirmed that, with the exception of a few who had renounced the chief of their name and come under bonds of manrent to other landlords, there was hardly a holding occupied by a MacGregor unless in defiance of the feudal superior. It seems impossible that they could have maintained themselves for any length of time against the power of the barons, but the story of the Rannoch MacGregors shows that they did so until they were overpowered by a horde of the MacLeans and Clan Cameron directed against them by the Earl of Argyle. Alaster MacGregor in his dying declaration accuses Argyle of this, and the accusation is borne out by the Records of Justiciary, which here exhibit another romantic interposition of the impartial hand of justice in favour of the unruly clan. On the 8th of June, 1598, in the High Court at Edinburgh, 'comperit William Murray and tuik instruments that he allegit that the Laird of MacGregor and his kyn were the fyrst sen King James the Fyrst's time that cam and socht justice'—that is, instead of taking the law into their own hands by gathering their forces and promptly avenging the wrong they had suffered. 'It was a new role for the Clan Gregor, but the result of this singular protest is that on the same day there is a decree in favour of MacGregor against MacLean and others for the price of 334 kye, 38 horses, 290 sheep, 93 goats, and the plenishing of houses to the amount of £553 6s. 8d—in all, £5,277 6s. 8d. In the previous February there had been decrees of ejection which the MacGregors had not obeyed, and the MacLeans and Camerons who had been called in to enforce the removals had made a Highland clearance and carried off the stock and plenishing, as above stated. In the same summer there are decrees of ejection against the MacGregors in Balquhiddy, Glenbeich, and Strowan, and the summer following in Breadalbane, Glenlyon, and Weem.

Letters of charge were now issued to all the landlords having MacGregors on their estates to present before the Privy Council each the particular persons of Clan Gregor for whom they as landlords were answerable, and proclamations were made at the market crosses of Perth, Stirling, and Dumbarton, com-

manding Alaster the chief and the whole persons of that mischievous clan to compear personally by the 3rd day of July 1599, and their chief to enter them before the King and Council for reducing them to obedience. To this unreasonable demand it was submitted on behalf of the chief that because it was impossible for him to find caution in respect of the bypast enormities of his clan, he offered to come in the King's will for offences committed by himself, and to deliver three hostages out of six of his kin to be nominated by his Majesty out of the three houses of Clan Gregor, these to remain as pledges for the obedience of the whole clan. But the King was peremptory, and on the 2nd August 1599 Alaster MacGregor compeiring personally at Falkland took upon him—that is, acknowledged responsibility for—the whole persons of the name of MacGregor, and promised to be answerable for their presentation to justice for all offences, unless in the case of such as he might be able to lay upon other landlords. Inchaffray and Tullibardine became caution for him that he would appear and enter one of his pledges on 4th September at Edinburgh. He failed to appear, and on the application of Tullibardine, who produced John Dhu MacEwin as pledge for Alaster, the time for his personal compearance was extended to the 16th. John Dhu was not warded, but was committed to Tullibardine to be again produced on the day when Alaster was due. The day came, but not Alaster, and on the 29th January, 1600, notwithstanding the plea of his cautioners that he was in heavy sickness and unable to travel, decree was given against them for a fine of 10,000 merks each, and 5000 additional against Tullibardine for not re-entering John Dhu. The King was now thoroughly enraged, and on the 31st January a Proclamation was issued that 'forasmuch as the wicked and unhappy race of Clan Gregor continuing so long in blood, theft, and oppression, and His Majesty finding them always bent to follow the course of their perverse nature after he had travailed by fair and gentle means to bring them under obedience, and Alaster their chief having most dishonestly violated his promise, thereby avowing himself and his unhappy race to be outlaws and fugitives, His Majesty has resolved to pursue them with all rigour and extremity, and therefore it is forbidden to his good subjects

to intercommune with the MacGregors, to keep any goods for them, to buy any goods from them, or make any bargains with them, under pain of being held as partakers in their crimes and punished accordingly.' On 17th February, Tullibardine produced Alaster before the Council and was relieved of his caution for him. On the 6th of March following, Alaster MacGregor and the landlords of the MacGregors were present at a meeting of the Council at Holyrood, when the Act against intercommuning with the MacGregors was approved, and a list having been made of those of them who dwelt under the landlords, as well as of those whom Alaster had taken upon himself, it was seen by His Majesty that there was still a number of the clan who had no fixed residence and could not be laid upon any landlord, and for these also Alaster was to be responsible, seeing that at Falkland he had taken upon him the whole persons of the name of MacGregor except such as he should lay off himself upon other landlords. A list of twelve names of the principal men of his clan was given him, of which he was to select three to be entered as pledges for the good behaviour of the clan for the first quarter, and these were to be successively relieved by the entry of other three. One of the hostages was to be placed in the custody of Lord Drummond, one in the custody of Glenurchy, and one in the custody of Sir John Murray of Tullibardine, while Alaster himself was to be warded in the castle of Edinburgh until the entry of the first three pledges. On the 16th of April, Patrick Murray, son of Sir John Murray of Tullibardine, appeared at Holyrood and presented John MacEan Dhu in Rannoch, and Ewin MacAlaster Pudrach, as two of the hostages, and stated that his father had delivered John MacPhadrik V'Ean to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, who had him presently in custody. This must have effected the release of Alaster from ward in Edinburgh Castle, and we hear no more of him for nearly a year.

But on 3rd March, 1601, there is a complaint by the Council that all their efforts to reduce the wicked and unhappy race of Clan Gregor to obedience and a peaceable and civil form of living have failed; and Alaster, their chief, has been put to the horn for not entering his second set of hostages, and still continues rebellious. Therefore, a commission is given to

Argyle, as His Majesty's Lieutenant, to charge the whole clan to appear before him to give surety for their good behaviour, and to pursue the disobeyers with fire and sword, to burn their houses, and apprehend and try them, and take up the half of their escheats for his own labours. Further, it is ordained that whatever persons shall harbour, or supply, or entertain, or hold intercourse with, any of the MacGregors, their wives, bairns, or gear, shall be held guilty of their whole offences, bygone or future. Still further, His Majesty promises in presence of the Council that the execution of this Commission shall not be frustrated by any favour or pardon to any of the clan hereafter. In submission to this stringent enactment Alaster MacGregor appeared before the King's Lieutenant at Stirling on 22nd April and renewed his former obligations, the bond being signed for him, with his hand led at the pen, because he cannot write. This year, again, there are many decreets of ejection against MacGregors. In one case, on the estate of Strowan, William MacNeill V'Gregor pleads that of the lands from which he is charged to remove, he and his predecessors have been in possession for 300 years as native and kindly titulars and possessors thereof. As incidental evidence of the cruel manner in which the Clan Gregor were dealt with by those who received commissions against them, it is sufficient to cite the terms of a remission which was given to Glenurchy at this time for the robbery and burning of the houses of Bar in Glenurchy occupied by MacGregors, which proceeds on the statement that in the course of the enmity subsisting between the laird of Glenurchy and the Clan Gregor, many plunderings, slaughters, and burnings, have been committed by both parties, and that Sir Duncan Campbell, now of Glenurchy, was very often forced to seek remeid by the strong hand. Argyle did not fare so well in his commission against the clan. In 1602, in consequence of the frequency of complaints of theft by landless MacGregors roving athwart the country, he is called upon to give an account of the manner in which he has executed the commission against them, and in three sittings of the Council he is denounced at the horn in seventeen different charges for not producing MacGregors against whom there are accusations of thefts, chiefly of cattle. In September,

1602, he is charged to produce before the Council John Galt MacGregor, and all the other MacGregors for whom he has become answerable, on pain of 20,000 merks, and in the next month he is actually fined in that sum on the ground that though he had bound over the MacGregors at Stirling, and had them all in his power, and His Majesty had been expecting that his good subjects would be placed in security of their lives and goods if the commission granted to Argyle had been properly fulfilled, yet the Clan Gregor were still as wicked and insolent as ever.

In December a complaint is lodged that the Clan Chattan and the MacGregors have made a joint foray on Glenisla in August last, and on 7th December there was a raid on Glenfinlas, headed by Duncan MacEwin, afterwards known as Duncan the Tutor, from his being tutor to Alaster Roy, nephew and successor to Gregor, son of John Dhu nan Lurag, or Black John of the Mail-coat. Robert, son of Duncan Abrach, and grandson of Duncan Laudosach, when on a similar expedition in the previous month, had been taken by Colquhoun of Luss, who had received the King's authority to arm his tenants and resist the MacGregors if they should return. The number of the band under Duncan MacEwin was about eighty, and the spoil driven from Glenfinlas is stated at 300 cows, 100 horses, 400 sheep, and 400 goats, with the whole plenshing of 45 houses. It was this raid of Glenfinlas, and not the subsequent slaughter of Glenfruin, that gave occasion to the sensational incident of 'the bloodie shirts,' which was suggested to Colquhoun of Luss in a letter written to him by Thomas Fallasdail, a burgess of Dumbarton, on Sunday, 19th December, 1602. The worthy burgess had been taking counsel with Semple the laird of Fulwood, and William Stewart, the captain of Dumbarton Castle, and they advise the laird of Luss to go to Stirling 'wyth als mony bludie sarks as other ar deid or hurt of your men, togitter wyth als mony wemen' and present themselves before His Majesty 'upon Tysday nixt' on the occasion of his reception of the French Ambassador. The commonly received account of this tragic demonstration, in which the widows of the slain to the number of eleven score, clad in deep mourning, riding upon white palfreys, and each bearing her husband's bloody shirt upon

a spear, are represented as appearing in the streets of Stirling to demand vengeance from a monarch peculiarly accessible to such sights of fear and sorrow, owes all its impressiveness to the picturesque pen of the prince of novelists, Sir Walter Scott. We have no means of knowing how many 'bluidy sarks' were exhibited in this singular procession, but there is no record of more than two deaths from the raid of Glenfinlas. Of course there may well have been a score or more of wounded men, and 'bluidy sarks' would not be difficult to obtain after such an encounter.

The causes of the sanguinary conflict of Glenfruin on the 7th February thereafter are obscure, and the chief of the MacGregors in his dying declaration simply attributes his attack on the Colquhouns to the instigation of Argyle, which is scarcely credible. There is an extraordinary discrepancy in the numbers of the slain on the side of the Colquhouns, as given in the various accounts of the conflict. The indictment against Alaster MacGregor and his clansmen tried before the High Court of Justiciary, states that they 'convenit to themselves the Clan Cameron, the Clan Mhuire (MacPhersons) and other broken men to the number of 400 or thereby, and past forward in arrayit battle to the lands of Glenfruin, where the laird of Luss with his friends were convenit be virtue of our soverane Lord's Commission to resist them, and barbarously murdered Peter Naper of Kilmahew, John Buchanan of Buckleyvie, Tobias Smollett, Bailie of Dumbarton, David Fallasdail, Burgess there, Thomas and James Fallasdail his sons, Walter Colquhoun of Barnhill,' and four other Colquhouns mentioned by name, 'and divers others to the number of seven score persons or thereby, the maist part of them being tane captive before they cruelly slew them, took William Sempill and other free lieges away captive, and took away 600 ky and oxen, 800 sheep and goats, and 280 horses with the haille plenishing and goods and geir of the fourscore pund lands of Luss and burnt the houses and barnyards.' On the other hand Birrell in his Diary says that sixty honest men were slain, besides women and children, while Calderwood says fourscore or thereby. At the lowest estimate the fact was fearful enough, and coming as it did as the climax

of a long series of thefts and slaughters committed in various parts of the country by the MacGregors, it filled the cup of their iniquity to overflowing. There is no evidence however to support the traditional atrocity of the murder in cold blood of the school-boys of Dumbarton, who are supposed to have gone out to see the fight. There is mention in the Acts of the Privy Council of an accusation against one Allan Oig' from Glencoe, who, when with the Clan Gregor at Glenfruin, is said to have 'with his awne hand murdered without pity the number of fourtie poor persons, who were naked [defenceless] and without armour.' But this accusation is only brought forward in 1609, six years after Glenfruin, and there is no evidence whatever to support it.

Immediately on the news of Glenfruin reaching Edinburgh the Privy Council issued a proclamation to the Sheriffs of Perth and Stirling, and the Stewart of Menteith, and the Laird of Glenurchy, to convocate the whole inhabitants in arms, and keep their bounds free from invasion of the MacGregors. Glenurchy, Tullibardine, and Lord Drummond were also warned to present personally a number of MacGregors for whom they were answerable, and proclamation was made at Perth charging Alaster MacGregor and the remanent of his race to compear before the Council on the 29th of March, while the general enactment against resetting or intercommuning with the Clan was renewed with greater stringency. Aulay Macaulay of Ardincaple, Duncan Campbell of Carrick, and Ewen Campbell of Dargache were called to answer for intercommuning with the MacGregors and 'not raising the fray and pursuing them.' The lieges of Athol and the Braes of Angus were called out to meet at the head of Loch Rannoch to join with the forces appointed to pursue the fugitives. In the end of March King James had taken his departure for London to assume possession of the throne of England, but in committing the Government of Scotland to his Privy Council he had given no doubtful indication of the measures to be adopted to bring the Clan Gregor under the rule of law, and to punish the principal offenders. Accordingly, on 3rd April, 1603, the Council decreed the abolition of the names Gregor and MacGregor, and that the whole members of the clan—they and

their children—take some other name in all future time, on pain of death. This curious method of outlawing a clan or family name, and making it infamous, was not without precedent in the history of Scotland. It had been resorted to by James V. in 1534, in the case of the Clan Chattan and still more recently by King James himself in the case of the Ruthvens after the Gowrie conspiracy. It appears also from the letters of the Council to the King that there was a proposal for the wholesale transportation of the clan beyond seas. On 18th May the Council write that they have already received eight pledges, and that the other four are expected, and they remind His Majesty of their former request that a ship might be sent to Leith ‘for the transporting of sa mony of that clan that are appointit for banishment, seeing that all those quha are to depart, in quhilk nowmer the Laird himself is ane, are to be in readiness to imbarck here agane Whitsontyde.’ But no such kindly fate was in store for Alaster MacGregor and his kinsmen. He managed to elude his pursuers till the 2nd of October, when he was entrapped by Campbell of Ardkinglass, the Sheriff of Argyle, who invited him to a friendly meeting in his house, situated in a small island in the loch, made him prisoner, and sent him off in a boat with five men to be conveyed to Argyle. But Alaster, though thus well guarded, watched his opportunity, leapt overboard and escaped. On the 4th of January, Argyle succeeded in inducing him to put himself in his hands, promising to allow him to go to England to solicit the royal pardon, and to use his influence with the King in his favour. So he was brought to Edinburgh, and eighteen of his friends with him, on the 9th of January, and as Birrell quaintly puts it, ‘he was convoyit to Berwick be the gaird, conform to the Earl’s promise, for he promisit to put him out of Scottis ground; so he keipit ane Hielandman’s promise in respect he sent the gaird to convoy him out of Scottis ground, but they were directit not to part with him but to fetch him back again.’ He arrived in Edinburgh from Berwick on the evening of the 18th January, was tried in the High Court of Justiciary on the 20th, and hanged with eleven other MacGregors at the Cross of Edinburgh on the same day—‘himself being chief,’ says Birrell, ‘he was hangit his awne height above the rest of his friends.’

The heads of Alaster Roy MacGregor of Glenstrae and Patrick Aldoch MacGregor were sent to Dumbarton, and there affixed upon the Tolbooth, in terror of others to commit the like. This seems to have drawn the vengeance of the clan upon Dumbarton for in April next, in consequence of the fear of the 'fyring of the town by the treacherie of the Clan Gregor,' the burgesses were fain to divide themselves into eight wards to watch night about. For his service to his king and country, Argyle received a gift of the lordship of Kintyre.

So far as can be made out from the scattered entries in the Justiciary Records, the number of MacGregors executed between April 1603 and April 1604 comes close on fifty. In July the Privy Council had offered pardon and a reward of 500 merks to any of the unhappy clan who should kill a denounced rebel of their own name or participant in their crimes. The first to claim this reward was John Dhu MacEwin, who received a remission for all his bypast offences and the sum proferred in money, for the slaughter of two MacWilliams. On August 14th, Archibald Dalzell, being himself at the horn, but seeing a prospect of obtaining the King's benevolence, had adventured his person and apprehended Neill MacGregor, one of the denounced principals of the clan, and announced himself ready to deliver him to the Council, and to do further adventures against the name of MacGregor, if he were released from the horn. He is released and disappears from the record. In the following August John Colquhoun, fiar of Camstrodden, considering the sincerity of His Majesty's haste to have these infamous limmers of the Clan Gregor punished, and being moved to give His Highness proof of his affection, had pursued them, and after many skirmishes and a long and dangerous onset on Gregor Craginche MacGregor, Duncan MacGille Callum, and certain others of the most notorious of all that name, had apprehended them and put them in ward, where 'the said Duncan barbarouslie stikit himself' and died. Colquhoun, however, brought Duncan's head, with the said Gregor Craginche, to be presented to the Lords at Stirling, where Gregor was executed, and John Colquhoun received the benefit of the Act in a free pardon and 500 merks. This Act was succeeded by another, offering still greater inducements

to adventurers to 'enter in blood' with the MacGregors. On April 19th, 1605, the Council issued proclamation that whoever should present to them at Edinburgh 'any of the MacGregors quick, or failing that his heid,' should have a nineteen years' lease of his lands and possessions or else a compensation for his kindness. But the adventurers were not all equally successful. James Gordon of Lismore had undertaken the capture of John Dhu MacIllehallum and Alaster his brother (both brothers apparently of that Duncan who had stabbed himself when taken by John Colquhoun), and after several skirmishes and the slaughter of some four or five of the band of MacGregors, Alaster was taken, and John escaped in the darkness, although severely wounded. Alaster is laid fast in the irons in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and Gordon recommended to His Majesty's favour by the Council. But John Dhu's wounds are soon healed, and in a few months he 'hes hochit and gored to the Laird of Lismore aucht scoir of nolt.'

The effect of the indiscriminate proscription of innocent and guilty alike was what might have been expected. The clan, driven to desperation, broke loose in a body, and went athwart the country, burning, harrying, and laying waste the lands of their oppressors. The writer of the Black Book of Taymouth states that at this time they burnt to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy the barony of Monzie, the barony of Culdair and Tennaiffs, the lands of Crandich, the barony of Glenfalloch, the lands of Bochastle in Menteith, and the house of Achallader in Glenurchy, the total loss amounting to 100,000 merks. In August, 1604, Robert Campbell, Glenurchy's second son, having gathered a force of 200 men of Clan Cameron, Clan Nab, and Clanranald, pursued them through the country, and overtaking a band of 60 of them at Ranefray in the Brae of Glenurchy, slew Duncan Abrach MacGregor of Ardchoille (grandson of Duncan Laudosach), with his son Gregor, Dougal MacCoulkeir in Glengyle with his son Duncan, and Charles MacGregor MacEan in Brackly, who were the leaders of the band. Strangely enough, a Dougal MacGregor Clerich was afterwards tried at the High Court of Justiciary and executed for the slaughter in this fray of Gregor, son of Duncan Abrach, by shooting him in the back with an

arrow, 'he being a bairn of sevin yeirs.' Besides those executed for complicity in the slaughter of Glenfruin, many were now brought to trial for offences, some of which are specified in the indictments as committed 30 years ago or thereby, and one indictment even runs to the extreme of 46 years ago or thereby. Some of the crimes laid to their charge are heinous enough, such as the slaughter of the fiddler MacKillope within his ain house, and the murder by drowning of MacKillope's wife that dwelt in Glenartney, in the harvest of 1602, the slaughter of John Drummond in Dron of Cowgask in August 1603, the burning of the castle of Achallader and 20 houses in Glenlochie, and the stealing furth of the Laird of Strowan's Crandoch of his hail insight plenishing worth £1000. A number of the clan not personally chargeable with offences of this kind now made suit to obtain the protection of the law by changing their names and finding caution to abide the law when called on. They usually took the same name as that of their cautioners, and hence many MacGregors now appear as Stewarts, Grants, Cunninghams, Livingstons, Ramsays, and even Campbells.

By the end of the year 1606 the hue and cry against the clan appears to have somewhat abated, if we judge from the tenor of an ordinance of the Privy Council of 23rd December, which sets forth that the course for extermination of the wicked race of MacGregor had been mitigated and permission granted them to live in the country, yet they had returned to their evil courses and committed villanies not worthy to be heard of in a country subject to a Prince armed with power sufficient to extirpate such an infamous byke of insolent limmers. The details of the next four years are not known as there is here a hiatus in the Council Record, but in 1610 it is recorded that the Council have resolved to pursue them with fire and sword, and commissions are issued to 29 barons and lairds in the counties of Perth, Stirling, Dumbarton and Argyle, including of course all the old enemies of the clan, with full powers to search, hunt and pursue all and whatsoever persons of the Clan Gregor. This extreme measure was followed by two proclamations—one calling all the lieges within the bounds to rise and assist the Commissioners named by His Majesty, who has resolved in his wrath and

justice, by power and force to reduce these rebellious and detestable limmers to obedience and conformity to the laws; the other renewing the penalties against harbouring, dealing with, or in any way assisting the members of the clan, who are denounced as a handful of miserable caitiffs whom it is a discredit to have any longer within the country. In the month of September 1610 the sum of £1200 was paid to the laird of Lawers for undertaking service against the Clan Gregor, and the castles of Garth, Glenlyon and Balquhiddar are ordered to be given up to Lochiel and MacRanald in furtherance of the same service. These chiefs had at first held back, probably because they had not had a retaining fee like Lawers, but in October there is paid to M^rRanald for putting the service in execution £3566. In January 1611 the Commissioners were summoned to Stirling to be dealt with for slackness, and a promise was exacted from them that they would take the field by February next, and enter in action and blood with the Clan Gregor and prosecute the same for a month upon their own charges, and if they did some notable service within the month the King would bear the expense of 100 men to assist them thereafter to finish the service.

It was in these circumstances that the following proclamation was issued in the name of King James:—Forasmuch as the rebellious thieves and limmers of the Clan Gregor have most justly procured His Majesty's heavy wrath and indignation, yet in his accustomed clemency and mercy he is willing to show favour to such of them as by some notable service shall give proof of their hatred of the wicked doings of that unhappy race, and therefore the Lords of the Privy Council promise that whatever person of the name of MacGregor shall slay any person of the same name, being of as good rank and quality as himself, and shall prove the same before the Council, shall have a free pardon for all his bygone faults; and whatever other person shall slay any of the particular persons afternamed, to wit Duncan MacEwen MacGregor now called the Laird, Robert Abrach MacGregor, John Dhu MacAlaster MacGregor, Callum MacGregor V'Coull, Doulichay MacGregor, (Dougal of the Mist) and MacRobert MacGregor his brother, or any others of the rest of that race, shall have a reward in money presently paid

according to the quality of the person slain, and the least sum shall be 100 merks, and for the chieftains and ringleaders of the MacGregors a thousand pounds apiece; and those who resett or supply any of the proscribed race are to be pursued with fire and sword as if they were of the race of the MacGregors themselves. In further preparation for the general onset it is announced in another proclamation 'that the Clan Gregor, being now despairing and out of all hope, have amassed themselves together in the Isle of Loch Ketterin (Ilanvernock), which they have fortified, and now there is hope that these wolves and thieves may be pursued within their own den by His Majesty's faithful subjects, for which purpose the hault boats and birlings on Loch Lomond must be transported to Loch Ketterin, which cannot be done but by the presence of a great number of people, and therefor all the lieges between sixteen and sixty years of age in Dumbarton, Menteith, and six parishes in the Lennox, are summoned to meet at Loch Lomond head on 13th February for this service, and all the landlords in Argyle, Athole, and Badenoch, are to set out watches on the hills lest the MacGregors escape there.' Meantime, a special Commission of Justiciary is given to the Earl of Dunbar, whose rigorous action in the pacification of the Borders had recommended him to King James as a fit instrument for the extirpation of the MacGregors, but his death following shortly afterwards, the King writes to the Council assuring them that he will 'verie narrowlie examine the particular behaviour of everie man in this service, and accordingly will remember them.' This was no idle threat, as some of them, and even Argyle himself, realised in a very short time.

So impatient was the King that on the 19th February the undertakers of the service were summoned to give an account of their proceedings, 'seeing that the time for them to have entered in blood with the MacGregors was past, and nothing done but the service altogether frustrated, and the Clan Gregor, who were enclosed within an isle, are now escaped, and not so much as ane mint or show of pursuit intended.' We learn from the Black Book of Taymouth that Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy had been most active in 'organising the siege of Ilanvernock 'which was hastily dissolvit through ane vehement storm of snaw,' and

Sir Duncan, with the other Commissioners, having been summoned to Edinburgh, the Clan Gregor immediately thereafter burnt all his lands of Glenurchy, Glenfalloch, and Mochaster, in Menteith, the lands of Culdares and Tennaiffs, and in the cosche (meadow) of Glenurchy they slew forty great mares and their foals, with ane fyne courser, sent to Sir Duncan by the Prince out of London,' and 'burnt also the hail houses on the lands of Aberuchill pertaining to Colin Campbell, brother to the laird of Lawers, where they slew eight persons and burnt three bairns, daughters of John MacKishock.' Robert Campbell, Sir Duncan's son, and Colin Campbell of Aberuchill, pursued them through Balquhider, Menteith, and Lennox, and drove them to the forest of Benbuie, in Argyle, where they killed some and took six prisoners, whom 'they hangit at the cosche of Glenurchy where they slew the mares.' Then they chased the remnant to Rannoch and Badenoch and completely scattered them. The number of MacGregors slain in this rout was sixteen. There is also a payment of £66 13s. 4d. to James Campbell of Lawers for the slaughter of Gregor Ammonach MacGregor, and the same sum to a man, MacIldowie, who brought three heads of MacGregors and presented the same to the Council. John Campbell, a brother of the laird of Lawers, slew John Dhu MacAlaster in Stronfernan, for whose head the Council had offered £1000. On the 24th May, the head was forwarded to the Council by Campbell, who claimed as his reward, in terms of another Act of Council, a nineteen years' lease of the deceased's lands, from which his wife and children were instantly ejected. On 2nd March, 1611, eight MacGregors were entered at the High Court of Justiciary on various charges, and hanged at the Burgh Muir. Two hundred pounds is paid to Sir Alexander Colquhoun in name of his friends, who slew three MacGregors.

In April the King writes to the Council that as he is now resolved by exemplary punishment of the MacGregors to terrify others, and because they 'receive great comfort by their wyffis,' who supply their wants and furnish them with intelligence to prevent their capture, as likewise their children being many in number are like to be as great a pest to the country in a few years, the Council is to confer with Argyle on the best means of preventing

these two evils. The outcome of this conference is a proclamation that the King 'has now resolved to lay mercy aside, and by justice and the sword to root out and extirpate all the race of MacGregor remaining rebellious,' and Commission is given to the Earl of Argyle accordingly. But to mitigate the rigour of the Commission the Earl is permitted to receive such of them to obedience as shall humbly sue His Majesty's pardon, 'on condition that the MacGregor so suing for pardon shall, before the obtaining thereof, enter in action and blood against the rest of that race, and deliver to the Earl or to the Privy Council the person or the head of a MacGregor of as good rank, quality, and action as himself, and find caution for his future good behaviour.' In April, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy was ordered to assist Argyle, and in May he burned the houses and lands of Dowlettir and the house of Glenstrae. To enable Argyle's men to live on the field they are authorised to take cattle and other provisions at fixed prices. As regards the wives and bairns of the Clan Gregor, the landlords on whose lands they live are ordered to deliver them up to Argyle within three days and the wives are to be 'marked with a key upon the face'—burnt on the cheek like thieves. On 25th May, a proposal to deport the wives and children of the MacGregors from the country was discussed in the Council. This was no new idea. In 1583 King James had issued authority to the Earl of Murray to invade the Clan Chattan 'to their utter destruction be slauchter, bryning, drowning, and uthir wayis, and laif na creatur levand of that clan except priests, wemen, and bairnis,' and these to be shipped off to Zealand or Norway, 'because it were inhumanity to put hands in the blude of wemen and bairnis.' But in November, 1611, King James finding that the 'utter extirpation' of all the Clan Gregor would be too troublesome, he is resolved on some to execute justice and the rest to take to mercy, and to transplant them and the wives and children of those that are killed or executed. Accordingly, he submits a series of proposals to the Council, among which are the following:—For those of the MacGregors that have come in will or surrendered themselves, if any of them have killed a MacGregor as good as himself, or two, three, or four of them which

in comparison may be equal to him, he shall have a remission if he find surety, but for such as have come in will and done no service by killing of MacGregors, nor cannot find surety, then the law to have its course and no favour at all to be shown. For such as are yet rebels, that there be no pardon or surrender taken unless he present a better head—or one at least as good as his own, or such two or three more as shall be enjoined unto him by the Council. And for Robert Abrach, who is now chief of them that are presently out, that he be not pardoned unless he bring in at least half-a-dozen of their heads. Robert Abrach, a great grandson of the famous Duncan Laudosach, was not slow to take the hint, and in a memoir of the Earl of Perth, written by himself, we have an account of the affair at Tomzarloch in connection with which he obtained the King's pardon. 'In March, 1612, I came from Edinburgh to Drummond Castle. In the meantime some dozen of the MacGregors came within the low country, Robin Abrach and Gregor Gair being chiefs. Abrach sent for my chamberlain, and alledging that his comrades were about to betray him, contrived to let them fall into the hands of justice. The plot was cunningly contrived, and six of that number were killed, three were taken, and one escaped, besides Robin and his man.' Here were the half-dozen heads for which the King had stipulated as the price of Robert Abrach's pardon, but the wily fox instead of carrying them to the Council went direct to the King himself in England, and the first intimation the Council had of the matter was a request from the King to draw out a remission in his favour. It was in vain that Sir Thomas Hamilton, Sir Duncan Campbell, and others remonstrated in the strongest terms that 'Robert Abrach was the most bloody and violent murderer of all that damned race'; the King will have his way, and Robert Abrach is commended for good service and fully pardoned.

For some time before this the system of tracking the fugitive MacGregors with dogs, and hunting them like wild beasts, had been in operation, for in July, 1612, we find there is a payment of £100 to a borderer named Archie Armstrong 'for his pains in attending His Majesty's service in the Highlands with lurg doggis against the Clan Gregor.' In 1613 there is a new out-

break of the Clan, and a proclamation that none of that wicked and rebellious race shall be allowed hereafter to wear any kind of armour except a pointless knife to cut their meat, under pain of death. This was not a new thing either, for a similar proclamation had been made against the inhabitants of the Lewis in 1606. But it was followed by the absurd restriction upon the liberty of those who had changed their names and found caution to underlie the law. that they were not to meet together in greater numbers than four persons. In the meantime the King, finding the Council less pliable than he wished in the matter of 'taking order with' the wives and bairns of the MacGregors, had got into correspondence with Archibald Campbell, brother of James Campbell of Lawers, who writes to His Majesty on 13th April, 1613, undertaking that the MacGregor bairns shall be put in such obedient subjects' hands as shall be answerable for them, and that he or his brother, on receiving a secret warrant for pursuit of any member of the clan, will bring him in dead or quick, provided the direction be not divulged to the Council or others. A month afterwards he tells the King that his brother Lawers had taken twelve MacGregors, and there are now not above forty left. 'Likewise, as your Majesty commanded, he has made fast the most of the young ones of that unhappy clan, which in good faith is more troublesome to him than all the rest of the service.' At the Council meeting of 22nd June his Majesty's missive 'ahent the boys and young ones' was read, and Lawers confessed that he had in his hands threescore and ten of them, being the sons of those executed and slain, the sustentation of which, with their keepers, which completed the number of a hundred persons, was very chargeable to him. The landlords being called to a conference with the Council most earnestly urged the transplantation of the whole race of the Clan Gregor 'man, wife, and bairn,' but the Council thought it not only a matter of difficulty, but of extreme rigour, to transplant men and families who had renounced their names and found caution to be answerable subjects. Finally, the bairns, to the number of fourscore or thereby, the oldest of them not past thirteen and the most part about eight, six and four years, and some of only two and three years old, are distributed among the landlords, who

are made answerable for them. Those escaping under 14 years of age were to be scourged and burned on the cheek for the first escape, and hanged for the second. The last Act against the bairns was passed in Parliament, June 28th 1633, when the former Acts against the Clan Gregor were ratified and renewed, with the further provision that every one of them, as they come to the age of 16 years, should yearly thereafter appear before the Council on 24th July and give renewed security for their good behaviour. It was also enacted that no minister in the Highland Counties should baptize a child with the name of Gregor or MacGregor under pain of deprivation.

Before this time a number of 'the young ones' had broken loose and found leaders in Robert Abrach and the sons of the late Patrick Aldoch who were again outlawed, and a price set upon their heads. In the month of October 1624, when many of his band had been taken and executed, Robert Abrach came to Perth, on a Sunday after sermon. 'He fell down upon his knees,' says the Chronicle of Perth, 'having a tow about his neck, and offered his sword by the point to the Chancellor of Scotland.' The Chancellor refused to accept it, and commanded the Bailies to ward him, as they instantly did, and put both his feet in the gadd, or long irons, where he remained. He seems to have been brought to Edinburgh, but instead of being summarily 'justified' as was the usual fate of his kinsmen, he was kept prisoner in the Tolbooth till August 1626, when he was delivered to Sir Donald MacKay who was taken bound to transport him and two other MacGregors out of the kingdom and employ them in the wars in Germany, never to return on pain of death.

After the deportation of Robert Abrach, the leadership of the outlawed MacGregors fell to Patrick Roy MacGregor, better known as Gilroy or Gilderoy, who with John Dhu, his brother, are reported to have broken loose in 1635. In 1636 eight of Gilroy's band, who had been captured by the Stewarts of Athole, were brought to Edinburgh for trial and hanged. In retaliation the Gilroys burnt the houses of Athole, and then betook themselves to the wilds of Aberdeenshire, haunting the forests of Culblene and Glentanner, and coming down on Strathdee and Strathdon in the darkness to commit spulzie and levy blackmail.

A price of a thousand pounds was put upon the head of Gilderoy, and we next hear of him and his band making a raid through the Lennox and haunting the Isle of Inchcalzeoch in Loch Lomond. At last, on June 6, 1636, Archibald Lord of Lorne exhibits to the Privy Council Patrick MacGregor, called Gilderoy, and two of his followers, whom he had captured. The trial of Gilderoy and nine of his men before the High Court of Justiciary took place on 27th July. They were all convicted and hanged, the heads and right hands of Gilderoy and another being cut off and affixed above the east and west ports of Edinburgh.

After the execution of Gilderoy, John Dhu Gair became leader of the broken men of MacGregor, and on September 10, 1636, commissions were issued to James Stuart of Ardvoirlich, and John Stuart of Drumquhan, to capture John Dhu Gair and John Dhu Roy MacGregor, the brother of Gilderoy, and their accomplices. On 27th October, John Dhu Roy and one MacInstalker were taken by the Laird of Grant's men, and ordered to be sent from Sheriff to Sheriff to their trial in Edinburgh. On 28th December, King Charles I. sent a special letter of thanks to John Lord Kinpont for his capture of John Dhu Roy. It appears, from a subsequent minute of the Council, that John Stuart of Drumquhan, in execution of his commission against the MacGregors, had attempted to capture John Dhu Gair and his companions in the house of one John Grant or MacJokkie at Tullich, in Strathspey, on Christmas Day, but as the band of the MacGregors were twenty-three in number, they overpowered Stuart's company, shot him through the thighs, breaking his thigh bones, and cut off his fingers, and finally cut off his head, dancing and making merry about him for a long time. One of the MacGregors, John MacPatrick, had been taken by the Laird of Grant and hanged because his wounds were such that he could not be transported to Edinburgh alive. For this the Laird of Grant was warded in the Castle of Edinburgh, but it appears that the Council suspected him of resett of the MacGregors, as there was an old friendship between the two clans. Accordingly, on the 16th February they resolved to put John Dhu Roy and Patrick MacInstalker to the torture anent their intercommuners; and again on 2nd March a Committee of

the Council are called to the Laigh Council House at eight in the morning to examine John Dhu Roy, Patrick MacInstalker, John Grant or MacJokkie, and his two sons, and the rest of the prisoners, and 'to put them to the torture of the butts.' Again, on the 14th of March, John Dhu Roy and his unfortunate fellow-prisoners are called for examination as to their crimes and their reseters, and for the better discovery of the truth are to be put to the torture of the boots. Two days afterwards John Grant and his younger son are to be put to the torture of the boots, and five days afterwards the torture is renewed; and John Dhu Roy is also to be put to the torture of the boots with a full number of the Council present. Next day John Grant and his two sons are to be again tortured in the boots in consequence of the depositions of two of their associates, made under threat of torture. The day following John Dhu Roy is to be again put to the torture anent his reseters. On 30th March, John Dhu Roy is tried and sentenced to be hanged at the Cross, and his body hung in chains at the Gallowlie, betwixt Edinburgh and Leith. The rest of the prisoners were executed in June. The object of the prolonged examination under torture was apparently to obtain evidence to incriminate John Gordon of Park and the Laird of Grant as reseters of the outlaws of Clan Gregor. But as the desired evidence was not obtained, Gordon and Grant were liberated from ward, but Grant died on the day of his liberation.

The troubles in the Aberdeen districts arising out of the wars of the Covenant were not unfavourable to the MacGregors. John Dhu Gair was still the leader of the band. In August, 1638, he harried the lands of Corse, and ravaged Strathisla, carrying off Corse's chief man and sending word that if Corse did not send him the £1000 he had received for the capture of John Dhu Roy he would 'send him his man's heid.' Corse applied to Huntly, whose message to John Dhu Gair procured the release of the captive. In 1639 John Dhù Gair marched into Aberdeen with his band of MacGregors in the train of Lord Lewis Gordon, but before the winter was well set in he was again an outlaw with a commission of fire and sword issued against him. In November he had settled for his winter quarters on Speyside, and having made a demand for subsistence from

the inhabitants of Garmouth, and being pursued by them, he took shelter on an island in the Spey, where he was shot by his pursuers.

John MacPhadrick Gair and Duncan, his brother, now became leaders of the rebels, and a price was set upon their heads by the Committee of Estates. They continued going athwart the wilds of the upcountry till 1642, when a meeting of the Barons of the north was held at Elgin, at which an agreement was made with William Mackintosh, who became bound to raise 600 men to keep the country free of the MacGregors, from Dunottar north to the sea banks. In 1643 Duncan MacGregor, a son of Duncan in Rannoch, was taken and brought to trial at Edinburgh for spulzies committed in Aberdeenshire, and for being a chief leader in the band of the late John Dhu Gair.

But with the rising of Montrose the MacGregors unexpectedly found themselves called to service under the Royal Standard, and until the final defeat at Philiphaugh they had the novel experience of ravaging in proper military fashion the districts from which they had been formerly hunted. His Majesty even condescended to notice their faithfulness and to certify and assure them that whatever lands and possessions belonged justly to the laird of MacGregor and his followers, in Rannoch, Glenlyon, and Glenurchy should be restored to them. How they exercised their new found license to plunder and ravage may be inferred from a knowledge of what they had suffered. In 1644 and 1645 Glenurchy's whole lands between the ford of Lyon and the point of Lismore were burnt and destroyed, the whole cattle of the tenants taken away and their corn, houses and plenishing burnt. Buchanan of that ilk sends up a piteous complaint that the MacGregors have burnt and wasted his haill lands, beggared and murdered his tenants, 'man wyff and child, without respect of age or sex.' In 1650, when the Committee of Estates was again in the ascendant, a commission of fire and sword against the MacGregors is given to Lieut.-General David Leslie, and a band of them under Gregor MacPatrick Aldoch again fortified themselves in an island of Loch Katrine—this time Eilan Mulloch, now better known as the Ellen's Isle of Scott's Lady of the Lake—and among other misdemeanours had slain James

Campbell of Duncrosk and John his brother. Yet in the course of a few months we find them responding to the call of a Covenanted King, when on the occasion of the abortive attempt of Charles II. to supersede the Commonwealth, he embodied the clans for defence of Religion, King and Kingdoms. The MacGregors were placed under General David Leslie as a guard upon the passes at the heads of Forth. In 1653 Glencairn was at MacGregor's House in the Isle of Loch Rannoch, and Malcolm MacGregor the tutor of James MacGregor the chief, who was then a minor, raised 80 men, his contingent being subsequently augmented to 200. It is noteworthy that the officers of the Commonwealth showed great consideration for the condition of the MacGregors. In March, 1657, Monk wrote to the Laird of Weem desiring him not to interrupt the Lairds of MacGregor in their possessions in Rannoch, as they had been ancient tenants and possessors of these lands and had hitherto paid duty for the same. In May of the same year Captain Daniell urges Weem to allow Clan Gregor to remain on his lands, and points out that his resolution to remove them had turned them desperate, as they knew they would not be received as tenants by other landlords, and that if he should deal rashly with them, he would simply lay his land waste, for he would not find in all Scotland tenantry to remain on the lands from which the MacGregors had been expelled, and finishes by entreating him to consider the blood and violence that would ensue, and not, by seeking to build his own house, to set his neighbour's house on fire. On his restoration in 1661, King Charles was so sensible of the loyalty of the MacGregors that he rescinded the penal laws against them so far as to allow them to resume their name, but the restoration of their lands was perhaps beyond his power.

The last act of the bloody drama closes in March, 1667, when Patrick Roy MacGregor, apparently a son of Gilderoy, was tried at the High Court of Justiciary for plundering the lands of Belchirrie several times, and because John Lyon of Muiresk had obtained a commission against him he came at midnight, on 7th April, 1666, with a band of 20 men to the house of Belchirrie, in which were John Lyon and his son Alexander and their sei-

vants, and into which they had taken their horses and cattle for security. The MacGregors compassed the house with sheaves of corn from the barnyard and burned the inmates out and took Muirsk and his son captive, and slew them at a shieling in the braes of Abernethy, and left their dead bodies naked and full of wounds in the open field. After this he came to the town of Keith and demanded blackmail, but the inhabitants resisted and there was a hot skirmish on the bridge and by the kirk dyke, in which he was wounded and taken. He was sentenced to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh, and his right hand to be first cut off by the executioner, and his body to be hung in chains. Two days after his trial he was tortured in the boots, probably to extort evidence against his reseters. Lord Pitmedden has described Patrick Roy as of low stature but strongly made, with a fierce countenance and a brisk, hawk-like eye. He bore the torture of the boots with great constancy, and was undaunted at his execution, though mangled by the executioner in the cutting off of his hand.

The subsequent history of the Clan Gregor is comparatively barren of interest, for although the fictitious fame of Rob Roy has supplanted the sterner story of his ancestors in popular literature, his reputation has been greatly exaggerated. But a very false impression of the truth would be conveyed to the reader if it were not stated that there is no period of their authentic history in which the whole members of the clan were equally in the position of outlaws and social outcasts. Despite the prejudice against their name and race, they are found occupying positions in life implying a degree of education, ability, and character, which is hardly to be expected of them in the circumstances. In 1454 John MacGregor, son of Patrick MacGregor of Ardinconell, possessed a town house in Dumbarton, and in 1480 Duncan MacGregor held the chaplainry of St. Patrick there. In 1484 Duncan MacGregor was vicar of Drymen. In 1514 James MacGregor was Dean of Lismore, and his brother Duncan was writing his poetical genealogies. Several of the vicars of Fortingall about this time were MacGregors. In 1518 Duncan MacGregor was keeper of the Castle of Glenurchy, and the same office

was successively held by his descendants, Neil, John Dhu, and Gregor MacEan, till after 1570. In 1574 Dougal MacGregor was Chancellor of Lismore, and in the same year Duncan MacGregor was reader at Killin and Strathfillan. In 1575 Gregor MacDougal MacGregor was reader at Moulin. In 1594 Patrick MacQuhewin, nephew and heir of Donald Dhu of Duneaves, who was beheaded by Glenurchy twenty years before, was minister of God's Word at Rothesay. These instances may go far to account for the remarkable fact that since the repeal of the penal laws against them, there is no clan name which has earned more honourable distinction than that of MacGregor.

JOSEPH ANDERSON.

ART. VI.—LADY WARRISTON.

THE summer of the year 1600 was one unusually productive of evil to many in Scotland. Good King Jamie himself made two narrow escapes, one from the fury of the elements, the other from the machinations of his own subjects. Crossing in the ferry from Leith to Kirkcaldy, on his return to Falkland, from a General Assembly of the Kirk which had been held in Edinburgh, he was nearly shipwrecked, which we are told made him exclaim with execration that he was ever in danger of his life in going to these assemblies. He was, however, in much greater danger of his life a few weeks afterwards at Perth, when the young Earl of Gowrie so nearly succeeded in his treasonable attempt on His Majesty's person. Individuals of less importance than the King too had cause to remember that year. Several gentlemen of position were slain in *tulzies*, or combats fought in the streets of Edinburgh, with all the stubborn determination and private rancour of the age. Nor were the people in general in a comfortable condition. The season was hot and unhealthy, and a scarcity of provisions, together with a high mortality, prevailed over the whole country. In Edinburgh, oat straw was selling at fifty shillings the sheaf,

and sickness was rife, especially among children, a great number of whom died.

Things were in this state when, in the beginning of July, much excitement was caused in the Scottish metropolis by the news of a murder which had been committed, under circumstances of peculiar barbarity, within a mile of the city walls. As the report of the trial immediately following this murder has not come down to us, we have to draw an account of the facts, partly from the Justiciary Court records of the trial of one of the accomplices, which did not take place until some years later, partly from contemporary reports, and partly from the confession of one of the criminals, preserved in a very remarkable MS., of which we shall have reason to speak further on. The facts were on this wise:—

About half way down the grassy and wooded slope, which extended almost from the margin of the Nor' Loch to the shores of the Firth of Forth, stood the old mansion house of Warriston. John Kincaid, the proprietor, was descended from an old Stirlingshire family. He had married, certainly not more than two years previous to the date of the murder, a young lady named Jean Livingston, of gentle lineage, and pre-eminent for her personal attractions. She was the daughter of the Laird of Dunipace, and came therefore from the same part of the country as did her husband's family. It has been stated that the match, though one of affection on his part, had been entered into by her for pecuniary considerations. There is, however, not the slightest evidence of this. On the contrary, so far as social position went, the match was an eminently natural and proper one. The lady herself, no doubt, was little more than a girl; some accounts say she was only nineteen at her death, others twenty-one. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that she was quite in the bloom of her youth when the strange tragedy we are about to relate occurred. The marriage does not appear to have turned out very happily, though we do not know for certain what the cause of strife really was. The ballad-mongers, as usual, attribute it to the lady's infidelity, and weave a long and circumstantial story as to her misbehaviour while her husband was absent at sea.

But there is not the least foundation for such allegations, and, indeed, we are told that shortly before her death 'she purged herself very sincerely from many scandalous things she had been bruited with.' But Lady Warriston, as she was called after the fashion of the time, was doubtless imperious, wilful, and somewhat flighty, and domestic bickerings grew more and more frequent. From the scanty accounts which have come down to us we do not know for certain the rupture which immediately led to the final catastrophe, but in some of the ballads the laird is said to have flung a plate at the lady, and to have cut her lips open with it. This insult to her dignity, as well as injury to her beauty, the high-spirited dame could not brook: unfortunately an evil counsellor was but too ready to hand. An old nurse, who was probably indignant at the slights put upon her bonnie bairn, was the first who instigated her mistress to crime, and to suggest that the husband should be put out of the way. Another old servant of the Livingston family, Robert Weir, was at this time living at, or near the Abbey of Holyrood, and it was he who the nurse determined should be made the active perpetrator of the deed. Not at once, however, could Lady Warriston be got to screw up her courage to the sticking-point, and consent to the murder of her husband. Twice at least, if not oftener, did Weir come down to Warriston House, without getting speech of the lady. At length, worked upon by the secret promptings of Janet Murdo, the nurse, and having been assured of the connivance of her other maid-servants, she consented to see Weir.

On Tuesday, therefore, the 1st of July, Lady Warriston sent the nurse for Weir, who came down to the house in the course of the afternoon. After discussing the matter with the lady, Weir was conveyed to 'ane laigh cellar,' where he lay concealed till midnight. According to one version of the story, Mrs. Kincaid herself then came for him, to conduct him to her husband's chamber; but the lady herself says in her confession, that at the beginning of the murder she was lying in bed with her husband. Weir, at all events, entered the room, and awoke Kincaid, who, leaning over his bed, inquired who was

there? Weir had possibly intended to have suffocated him in his sleep; but finding himself discovered, ran up to the victim, and with his clenched fist, 'gave him ane deidlie and crewall straik on ye vane-organ,' which hurled him from the bed to the ground. Weir then proceeded to finish his murderous work in a somewhat barbarous and clumsy manner. When the unfortunate gentleman was lying on the ground he kicked him severely, whereupon the victim cried out lustily. Hearing the cry, and fearing he might alarm the household, or bring assistance, the murderer closed with him and 'grippit him be ye thrott or waisen, quibilk he held fast ane lang tyme, quhille he wirrait him, during the quhilk tyme the said Johnne Kincaid lay struggilling and fechting in the pain of daith under him.' The girl-wife, in the meantime, had leaped out of bed, unable, for all her revengeful spirit, to endure the horrid scene which was being enacted beside her. She ran down to the hall, and sat there until the cessation of the noise above proclaimed that the deed was done. But by this time the household was getting alarmed. Weir came down stairs, and reported to the expectant lady that he had fulfilled her behest, and that her husband would trouble her no more. They then held a hurried colloquy, which may be given in her own words. 'I desired him . . . to take me away with him, for I feared tryall; albeit flesh and blood made me think my father's men at Court would have saved me. Yet he refused to take me with him, saying "You shall tarry still, and if this matter come not to light you shall say he died in the gallery, and I shall return to my master's service. But if it be known, I shall fly, and take the crime on me, and none dare pursue you."' And so they parted, but he proved quite wrong in his anticipations. The alarm was given at once. One metrical version of the story tells us that the laird's brother was staying in the house at the time, and that he appeared on the scene very shortly after the murder was committed. This may have been the case, but at any rate no time was lost in procuring help. Lady Warriston, the nurse, and one of the female servants, speedily found themselves apprehended, and, probably, amid considerable excitement, as

the news began to spread, they were conveyed away in the shimmering brightness of a summer morning, to await their trial for the crime. Nor was the trial long delayed. The prisoners having been caught 'red hand,' were, according to the law then in force, tried at once. By whom they were tried is uncertain. It may have been by the Baron-bailie of Broughton, within whose jurisdiction Warriston House lay. But it was more likely by the Bailies of Edinburgh, as the execution afterwards took place there. Of the particulars of the trial, as has been stated, we have no record. The participation, active or passive, in the crime, of the three prisoners was, in all likelihood, proved without difficulty, and they were condemned to be burnt at the stake. Execution followed quickly on judgment in such cases, and the sentence was originally intended to have been carried out on the next day but one, that is on Friday, the 4th of July. As we shall see, however, it was delayed for some hours longer.

Their trial being over, the prisoners were conveyed to the Edinburgh Tolbooth, to be confined there till the time of their execution. Had this been longer delayed it is very probable the fair criminal would have got off, for, as has been remarked, the walls of the Tolbooth were singularly leaky, in the case of prisoners of birth and influence. Lady Warriston did not escape the 'doom' which had been pronounced upon her; but it is curious that though all record of her trial is lost, we possess a very full, interesting, and even touching account of the last thirty-seven hours of her life. This is contained in a MS. preserved in the Advocates' Library, in the handwriting of the Rev. Mr. Wodrow. It has the following somewhat lengthy title: 'A worthy and notable memorial of the great work of mercy which God wrought, in the conversion of Jean Livingston, Lady Warristoun, who was apprehended for the vile and horrible murder of her own husband, John Kincaid, committed on Tuesday, July 1, 1600; for which she was execute on Saturday following. Containing an account of her obstinacy, earnest repentance, and her turning to God; of the odd speeches she used during her imprisonment; of her great and marvellous constancy, and of her behaviour and

manner of her death, observed by one who was both a seer and a hearer of what was spoken.' The account is written by the clergyman who attended her in the prison; who he was is not certainly known, but Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, who printed the MS. privately, many years ago, inclines to think that it was Mr. James Balfour, one of the ministers of the North West Parish. The narrative is a very curious one. The minister is firmly convinced of the reality of the change produced in the fair penitent's heart, and her winsome looks and gracious presence seem to have quite conquered the worthy man's heart, for he speaks of her throughout with much affection.

This strange narrative is of considerable length, and written from what would now be called an extremely 'Evangelical' point of view. Still it is graphic and interesting. It presents a picture of a frivolous and haughty, rather than a designedly wicked girl, turned from her light mindedness and levity to seriousness and religious peace. Without entering on the question of the *bona fide* nature of the conversion, far less of its efficacy, we may admit that the writer of the narrative was fairly entitled to boast of an extremely interesting penitent.

His first interview with her was on the Wednesday morning, just before she was brought to trial. It was not encouraging. He found her 'in a most miserable case, raging in a senseless fury, disdainfully taunting every word of grace that was spoken to her, impatiently tearing her head, sometimes running up and down the house, like one possessed, sometimes throwing herself on the bed, and sprawling, refusing all comfort by word, and when the book of God was brought to her, flinging it upon the walls twice or thrice most irreverently.' The good man who tells the tale did not want earnestness and devotion to his duty, however much he may have been destitute of tact. At considerable length, and with emphatic plainness of speech, he endeavoured to bring home to the prisoner a sense of the sin which (he apparently took for granted) she had committed. But the haughty beauty, burning with shame at the position in which she now found herself, and half hysterical with the excitement of the scenes through which she had passed, tossed her saucy head, and would have none of his advice. 'Trittle

trattle' she cried, to his exhortations, and then in a despairing mood, and tearing her hair, she said 'I will die but once. I care not what be done with me.' Her spiritual adviser, however, stuck to his guns, and continued the assault on her hardened heart. She treated him with so much contumely, that at last he reminded her, in great sorrow he tells us, but we cannot help thinking with a touch of the natural man, 'that within a few hours, when you shall hear the sentence of death pronounced against you, you will be better tamed, and the pride of your heart will be broken in another manner.' To this the poor girl made no answer, but called for a drink. When it came she was desired to drink to the minister, but after drinking to contentment, says that worthy man, 'that which she left she threw upon the floor, cup and altogether, and hastily turned away her face from me, and hid herself all the time I was with her, and would look at me no more.' We can hardly wonder at her conduct. If she had been dealt with faithfully, it was with a very rough if salutary faithfulness.

This first interview was early in the forenoon. In the course of an hour or two the accused were led out to the trial of which we have no record. It cannot have been a long one. The guilt of the accused was only too clear. The case was a bad one, and it was felt that notwithstanding the youth, beauty, and position of one of the culprits, the sentence required to be exemplary. The 'doom' pronounced upon the accused, therefore, was that they should first be hanged, and then that their bodies should be burned to ashes. Lady Warriston received the sentence without remark, or change of countenance. Brought back to prison 'she began,' says our clerical annalist, 'a little after to grow heavy, and the first word she spoke was this, to one of her friends standing by her, which she also repeated to me when I came to her. "I find," said she, "a spark of grace and a spark of life beginning in me." For the while they that were with her praised the Lord, and incontinent sent for me to come to her.' The spiritual conversation which her adviser had with her is of course detailed in his narrative at great length. Certainly the good man seems to have spared himself no pains or trouble, in his

desire to benefit the soul of his penitent. It is evident, from various passages in the narrative, that the prisoner was the subject of much curiosity. She does not appear to have been in a cell, but in a tolerably large and well lighted room, into which many visitors were from time to time admitted, attracted no doubt by that marked desire which the public always has to see any notorious criminal. The first thing therefore that the clergyman endeavoured to do, when he found her willing to listen to his exhortations, was to 'hush the house.' This was done about one o'clock, and from that hour till eight at night they were 'well and spiritually occupied.' Lady Warriston dictated a will to the minister, in order to settle her worldly affairs, and at every third word almost, she repeated a saying which we are told was thereafter continually on her lips. 'Lord, for mercy and grace at thy hands, for thy dear son Christ's sake, to the glory of mercy, and safety of my silly soul.' After communing with her till eight o'clock the clergyman left her, but at her own special request promised to come back in an hour, which he did, finding her very joyful at supper, mixing her bodily feeding with words of spiritual comfort, to the great joy and contentment of *very many* who heard her.' After supper, prayer and conference were further continued till midnight, when the poor girl, utterly wearied out we may well suppose by all the excitement of mind and body which she had undergone, desired to sleep. Her friend, however, who was evidently by this time, like a skilful physician, intensely interested in his case, did not leave her at once, but waited till she awoke, which she did in a short time. Having assured himself that her spiritual condition was one of trust and confidence, he left for the night, promising to come early in the morning, as the hour of execution was originally fixed for nine o'clock in the morning of next day, Friday. The earnest and enthusiastic minister did not belie his promise, for we find him at the prison between four and five o'clock. The lady, however was asleep, and continued so until six o'clock. Failing the mistress, therefore, he turned his attention to the nurse, who was probably the most criminal of the party, and at whose instigation it was that the deed was perpetrated.

No information is given as to the interview, and it is probable that the nurse proved of tougher mental fibre than her mistress. Without, too, impugning for a moment the perfect good faith of the minister, it stands to reason that it was not nearly so interesting to try to make an impression on the heart of an old and wicked maid-servant, as it was to administer spiritual consolation to the mind of her young, beautiful and repentant mistress. The clergyman was therefore all impatience to see her once more, and at six o'clock he caused her to be awakened, and once more entered into conference with her. Not content with his own efforts for her soul's good, he desired her to send for Mr. Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of the 'North-west' Church in Edinburgh, and whose colleague, Mr. James Balfour, is probably the writer of the narrative itself. While Mr. Bruce was with her, her infant child was brought, at her own request, that she might take farewell of him, which she did with calmness, recommending him to the care, not, curiously enough, of the man who had been with her almost constantly since she had been imprisoned, but to that of Mr. Bruce. Her interview with him had been quite short, but she probably instinctively discerned that he was of a more practical type than his well meaning, though evidently wordy friend. The clergymen now prepared to leave, but Mr. Balfour, if we are right in supposing him the narrator, immediately came back with the news that the sentence upon Lady Warriston was commuted to one of beheading only. For this more honourable mode of death, she expressed herself thankful, and was 'very joyful' thereat, so much so that the narrator was persuaded that it was 'the Holy Spirit decorating and beautifying his own temple, as a presage of that she was going to: this surely honest men, to the number of 14 or 15, who heard and said all, can testify.'

We need not enter into all the details that are given of the next few hours; how she slept for a time, had her face bathed in water, etc. The room in which she was, seems ever to have been full of honest men, and other curious people, who spoke to her, and heard with wonder her edifying discourse. She was, indeed, so eloquent, that it only then occurred to the

annalist to set down her words; and he grieves much that he 'slipped so many pearles of grace' which came out of the mouth of this 'sweet young woman.' The report of the condition of the interesting prisoner seems to have spread, for all the remainder of the day the prison seems to have been crowded with persons of all ranks, so much so that she occasionally went to the prison door to address them. The execution had been fixed for four o'clock in the afternoon; but as that hour drew near it was rumoured that it was to be postponed till nine in the evening, or some said till the next morning. Her friends were evidently endeavouring to avoid, as much as possible, the scandal of a public execution.

Meanwhile the crowd in the street increased, and through the warm air of the summer evening a great din came up to the prison. An Edinburgh crowd has never been very chivalrous or orderly, so that we may presume there was a good deal of horse play and bad language going on. The prisoner looked out of the window, and beholding, we are told, the people sporting and taking their pleasure among themselves, she said very heavily, 'These people laugh now, but they have cause to mourn, because not even one of them will get that great mercy and repentance which I have gotten.' Her going to the window seems rather to have whetted the curiosity of the crowd to see the captive, as not long after she perceived and remarked on the people climbing up to the house tops, to see if they could catch a glimpse of one about whom there was so much talk. The 'conference' with her spiritual adviser went on till eight at night, when she had supper; during which meal the conversation never seems to have been relaxed, and is all retailed with much fullness by our author; he says, indeed, as to the supper, 'a more comfortable never did I eat any.' Supper being over those at table rose to 'public prayer,' and then the prisoner went back to her 'wonted exercises' till after ten o'clock, when she lay down upon her bed, but does not appear to have slept at all during the night, spending the whole time in conversation with her devoted friend the minister. She formally expressed her forgiveness of her mother-in-law, and also

of her father. It is said that the latter steadily refused to see her, although she certainly wished for his presence. She also, during this night, made the specific confession of the part she took in the crime for which she was condemned, to which we have previously alluded.

So sped away the short July night. Her friends were so anxious that her execution should be as private as possible, that they prevailed on the Magistrates to make it at an exceedingly early hour. The first glimmer of dawn, accordingly, had hardly begun to streak the east, when these functionaries were announced. The fair criminal seems to have been rather disappointed that her end was not to be made in such a public manner as she had expected. And of course, afterwards, the public grumbled at having been deprived of such a sensational spectacle. It was at this time that she saw the only relation who seems ever to have visited her after her trial; this was her husband's brother, with whom she had a very affecting interview, immediately after which the cortége set forth to the place of execution, which was at the *Girth Cross*, or Cross of the Sanctuary, at Holyrood. This place was chosen because it was at the very other end of the town from Castle Hill, where, at the same time, her nurse and servant were to suffer the punishment to which they had been originally sentenced, viz., strangling and burning. This naturally tended to attract any persons who might be about at that early hour.

The procession then, such as it was, wound its way through the tortuous recesses of the Luckenbooths, and along the High Street to the Nether Bow, then down the stately Cannongate, till it arrived at the place of execution. The grim shape of the 'Maiden' loomed conspicuous in the grey dawn. The prisoner looked up at it with 'two longsome looks,' and immediately mounted the scaffold. Her self-possession was complete, and 'there appeared such a majesty in her countenance and visage, and such a heavenly courage in her gesture, that many said, "That woman is ravished with a higher spirit than a man or woman's."' Going to each of the four sides of the scaffold, she made a short speech to the bystanders, confessing the justice of her sentence. After prayer by the clergyman,

she took leave of her friends who were with her on the scaffold, and assisted one of them to fasten a cloth about her face. The account of the closing scene is so curious that we cannot do better than give it in the words of the narrator.

‘ So being ready to lay down her neck I spake these words to her, “Remember now to keep your promise, that you made to me yesterday, that I may be assured of God’s comfortable grace and Holy Spirit constantly abiding, and yet growing to the end.” She answered, “I think very well upon my promise, and am content that you challenge me with it.” Now this was the promise she made the day before. We had been speaking of the unchangeable workings of God’s grace in the hearts of his own Saints, that so far is it from him to leave the work that he hath begun, that rather where he once begins to work faith, peace, and joy, etc., these grow still to a perfection—and in the end they appear most unto the comfort of them that have them. Whereupon she gathered this assurance. “I hope in God” said she, “that you shall find my grace so increasing in me, and my resolution so constant that when I am at the point of death my courage and comfort in my God shall then be greatest when I promise, by God’s grace, I shall give you a token before my departure, in my God.” I again promised not to leave her till then, and to challenge her upon that same promise in her greatest extremity, and should desire this sign of her, which she had promised to give me at this time. Therefore, thinking upon this promise, I said unto her. “Is it not true that I spoke to you concerning the Lord’s grace in you? Feel you it so now or not?” “Yes,” said she, “I feel greater comfort in my God now than ever.” I said, “what token give you me of it?” She incontinent, with her own hand, drew the cloth that was bound about her face, and looked eyes first to heaven, and then to me, laughing most joyfully, and holding me by the hand she kissed me in presence of all the people, saying, “The Lord be with you my heart. There is a token that I have the Spirit of God in a greater measure than ever I had.” When I heard this of her, I could not abide longer beside her, but immediately left the scaffold, and departed. But she, as a constant Saint of God, humbled herself on her knees, and offered her neck to the axe, laying her head sweetly and graciously in the place appointed, moving to and fro until she got a rest for her neck to lie in. When her head was now made fast to the Maiden, the executioner came behind her, and pulled out her feet, that her neck might be stretched out longer, and so made more meet for the stroak of the axe. But she, as it was reported to me by him who saw it, and held her by the hands at this time, drew her leggs twice to her again, labouring to sit on her knees till she should give up her spirit to the Lord. During this time, which was long, for the axe was but slowly loosed, and fell not down hastily, after the laying in of her head, her tongue was not idle, but she continued crying to the Lord, and uttered with a loud voice those her wonted words. “Lord Jesus receive my spirit! O

Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world have mercy on me ! Into thy hands Lord I commend my soul !” When she came to the middle of this last sentence, and had said “ Into thy hands Lord,” at the pronouncing of the word ‘ Lord,’ the axe fell, which was diligently marked by one of her friends, who still held her hand, until this time, and reported this to me ; and so this penitent sinner rendered her soul to the Lord in joy and peace. . . .’

Such is the simple, yet graphic account of the last scene in this tragedy, as it has come down to us. Whether the device of having the execution so early in the morning, and at such an unusual place, was successful in preventing crowds of people from witnessing the spectacle we know not. Certainly a counter attraction was provided, for the rosy hue of the dawn-streaked clouds in the east was answered by a lurid glare in the west, which proclaimed that the nurse and her accomplice had expiated their crime in a still more terrible way than their ill-fated mistress. Their sentence had been carried out on the Castle Hill, and was intended, no doubt, to divert attention from what was going on at the Girth Cross.

Of the reality of the repentance detailed in this curious account of the last hours of Lady Warriston, and the sincerity of the sentiments she professed, we do not dare to judge. That they were heartily believed in by the unknown clergyman who has left us the narrative is undoubted ; but though we are told that, a complete change of heart may take place in the shortest time, even ‘ between the saddle and the ground,’ it seems fairly questionable whether the spiritual outpourings indulged in by the unhappy woman were really true reflections of her state of mind, or whether they are the mere outcome of the fancies of hysterical despair. They are expressed in language of the most fervidly spiritual character, such as it is difficult to imagine a girl in the prisoner’s position could be acquainted with ; and it must be borne in mind that the story is told by one who was evidently a godly, simple-minded man, only too glad to see such a change worked in the heart of his penitent. It is not for us, however, after an interval of nearly three hundred years, to pronounce a harsh judgment. *Requiescat in Pace.*

But one more incident remains to be told in this tale of

crime. Four years afterwards, the 'horse boy,' Robert Weir, who had actually committed the murder, was put upon his trial before the High Court of Justiciary. He was found guilty, and sentenced to the cruel, and in Scotland unusual, punishment of being broken on the wheel. The sentence ran that he should be 'tane to ane skaffold, to be fixt besyd ye croce of Edⁿ. and yair to be brokin vpone ane Row, quhill he be deid, and to ly yairat during the space of xxiiij houris, And yairafter his body to be tane vpone ye said Row, and set up in ane publict place, betwix the place of Warristoun and the town of Ley^t. and to remane yaire upoune ay and quhill comand he gevin for the buriall yairof.'

We are told by Birrel, in his Diary, that Weir was broken on a *cart* wheel, 'with ane coulter of ane pleuche,' by the hands of the hangman. Such was the barbarous manner in which retribution overtook the last of the participants in Lady Warriston's crime.

ART. VII.—THE CROFTERS ACT IN SHETLAND.

NOW that the Crofters Commission have issued their Parliamentary Report upon last year's work in Shetland, we propose to summarise the results of their visit to the island, and to point out the effects which the Crofters Act has had, and probably will have, upon the relations of proprietors and tenants, upon the circumstances of the latter, and upon the prosperity and progress of the island. According to the Report the Commission dealt with 1330 applications to have fair rents fixed, embracing 7057 acres of arable land, 15,031 acres of outrun or cow's grass, and 123,420 acres of hill pasture, with the result that a gross rental of £6917, payable by 1328 Crofters, has been reduced to £4990,—a reduction of over 27 per cent.; while arrears of £6438 have been reduced to £2323,—a reduction of over 63 per cent. A discussion of the merits of these decisions, incongruous as some of them appear, would serve no good purpose, as the Commission give no

reasons for any of their decisions, and we prefer rather to enquire, what, now that the general result of the Commissioners' visit is known, is the effect likely to be produced by their action?

To rightly appreciate this, one must first consider the nature of the right of a Shetland Crofter, his manner of life, and his means of livelihood in the past. The 'Holding' of a Shetland crofter consists of three distinct items—first, his house and patch of arable land, (sometimes enclosed but more often not) upon which he raises his grain crop, potatoes, and cabbages. Of the quality of the grain, little can be said, but it must be borne in mind that the statements of the crofters, that in many years they make no meal from their crops, are quite misleading to one not acquainted with the island. These crops, although in some cases used as human food, are in the main not grown for any such purpose, but in order to be used as fodder for the stock through the winter. Next comes the 'outrun' or cow's grass, which may be separately enclosed, but more often is simply a portion, well-known by its own boundaries, of a general outrun pertaining to a township of from two to twenty or more crofts, the whole of which is enclosed into the township by a fence, or by the old 'hill-dyke,' built of turf and renewed from year to year. Lastly comes the 'scattald right' or right of pasturage over a large tract,—it may be thousands of acres, of rough hill pasture lying outside the hill dykes, in common not only with his fellow crofters of the township, but with those of other townships bordering on the scattald, and, it may be, belonging to different proprietors. Upon this scattald the crofter may keep a stock of sheep and ponies all the year round; and in summer he may use it partially for his cattle and for flocks of geese fattening for the Christmas market. The peculiarity of this right was that it was entirely vague and undefined as regarded the number of sheep or ponies which each crofter might pasture, and gross inequalities existed; such as that one of two crofters paying similar rents had one hundred or two hundred sheep, while his neighbour had only ten or a score. In some cases, a slight attempt at regulation had been made, but of the estates dealt with by the

Commission, on only one, that of Lunna, had an actual allotment and limitation of stock been made and enforced. The reason of this is twofold. In the first place, by the traditions of Norse law, still handed down in the island, the free use of the scattald is said to be the inalienable right of the occupiers, and all attempts at limitation of that right have been invariably objected to by them; and, in the second place, the expense necessary for effective regulation is so great as to act as a deterrent. Because, before anything of the kind is possible, the 'common rights' of several proprietors over the whole scattald must be converted by the Court of Session into absolute and exclusive rights to each proprietor, over a definite share set apart to him by an expensive process of division, and thereafter his absolute right thus ascertained must be protected by, perhaps, miles of wire fencing. Thus it happened that over nearly the whole of Shetland the crofter's scattald right was at the passing of the Act quite indefinite, or limited only by the ability of the crofter to acquire stock on the one hand, and the right of the proprietor to raise the rent upon, or to evict, a large stock-holder upon the other.

Of modes of life among Shetland crofters there are two distinct varieties,—that of the seafaring man, who goes from home to the different fishings at the proper season, or, as is quite common, on a voyage to a foreign port; and that of the man who stays at home, attending to his croft and stock, and only fishes occasionally from a small boat, or takes up some such local trade as carpenter or mason. The former depends upon the sea for his livelihood, and holds a croft principally as a home for his family, though, by himself, or his grown-up children, he may raise small crops and keep cows and a small sheep stock. The latter, of whom the number is comparatively insignificant, devotes his attention mainly to the croft and scattald, and derives his living from the sale of cows, sheep, ponies and geese reared thereon, as well as of woollen goods or Shetland tweed, grown and spun, and knitted or woven at home, all by members of his own family. The fishing he looks to more as a means of procuring food, though he may also earn considerable sums by the sale to local dealers of his

haddock catches. What effect then will the reductions of rent made by the Commission have upon the circumstances of these crofters? The answer must be that it will be very slight. If it had been the case that the average crofter depended for subsistence upon the produce of his croft only, the reduction of rent would have borne such a ratio to his income as might have created the difference between hardship and a reasonably comfortable existence. But, as every one acquainted with Shetland knows, the sum in question, when compared with the sums earned by the average crofter and his family, and spent upon food, clothing, and luxuries, is of no practical significance. The man who was comfortable under the old rent will have a larger sum to spend; the man who was poor will be poor still.

But the effects of the Act are further reaching than the mere matter of rent. It alters the relations of landlord and tenant in many important particulars, and it is with this alteration that we propose to deal. Prior to the passing of the Act, the landlords had in their hands an almost unlimited power over the tenants; and exercised, whether for good or ill, a species of patriarchal government; its sanction being the power to evict and remove from the district any crofter who disputed his landlord's authority. The Crofters Act abolishes this power of eviction: and now behind his security of tenure, the crofter laughs at all regulations made by the proprietor, except such as the law expressly forces him to observe. Many and deep were the complaints before the Commission of the manner in which landlords had in the past exercised their powers, and, it must be admitted, not without foundation in some instances. As the Crofters' Agent, in his opening speech before the Commission, put it—'Shetland, the chosen home of the Truck system in its worst and most oppressive form, is likewise the last resort of the exploded doctrine of the divine right of landlords. Practically there has been a state of semi-serfdom. While the Crofters Act operates in other counties as a measure of agricultural relief, in Shetland it is in reality an Act of emancipation.' And certainly were the evidence given before the Commission to be accepted as correct, the statement was

not too absurdly exaggerated. But after a perusal of the whole evidence, as reported almost *verbatim* in the local papers, one is forced to the conclusion that though the crofters were ruled with a stern hand, only a few cases of hardship or oppression have been established, and that upon the whole this patriarchal government has been for the good of the people themselves as well as for that of the proprietor. Never, perhaps, was it more necessary at the close of a judicial inquiry to keep in mind the maxim, *Audi alteram partem*. The object of the inquiry was to fix fair rents, and the proprietors' agents appeared in court for this purpose only. They had no knowledge of what complaint or grievance might be brought up by any crofter, and could only contend to the court, though as it proved in vain, that evidence of events occurring thirty or forty years ago was quite irrelevant to the questions before it. So far as the local reports show, no proprietor took the trouble to lead counter evidence upon these matters, but in many cases a cross-examination of the witness entirely changed the whole bearing of his story. Thus at a sitting upon the Busta Estate at Brae, a crofter complained that he had been forbidden, on pain of eviction, to fish for haddocks in the voe or bay opposite his croft, putting this forward as a monstrous example of landlord oppression, and also as an explanation of his inability to pay rent. On cross examination this man admitted that the prohibition was against 'long line' fishing, and had been issued by the factor on the estate, at the request of his own neighbours. They desired the fishing in the sheltered voe to be preserved, as it always had been, for 'hand line' fishing by the old men of the township for food, and objected to its being ruined by crews fishing for the market, whose boats were able to go out to the regular fishing banks. Moreover, it appears that the prohibition was only the enforcement of the old 'County Acts' of Shetland, chapter 33 of which enacts 'That none fish with haddock lines within voes from Belton (Whitsunday) to Martinmas, or as long as they can draw haddocks on hand lines, under the like pain of ten pounds Scots.' Again, many complaints were directed against the system of monopoly of trade and fishing which formerly

existed, an example of which we may give from the report in the *Shetland News* of the evidence of Gilbert Stout, an old man of about seventy, examined at Vidlin on the estate of Lunna.

‘He had brought ashore $17\frac{1}{2}$ tons of ling in one season, and he could have had 7s. per cwt. paid down every voyage when he came ashore with the fish, but when he came to settle at Martinmas Mr. Robertson’s (the tacksman of the store and fishing station) offer to him was 5s. That was when they were bound to fish for Mr. Robertson. When they went to sea they were from one to three nights off, in a boat 18 or 19 feet keel, and sometimes 40 miles off. They had no food but a little meal and water, and when they came on shore they would be so bad that they would have to help each other out of the boat. They could not take so much fish out of the boat as could save life.’

The CHAIRMAN. ‘Do you mean to say that when you came ashore from the fishing exhausted, having had nothing to eat but meal and water, you were not allowed to take a few fish?’

WITNESS. ‘No I was not allowed to go out of the boat for fear of my warning.’

No questions were asked of the witness, but the Mr. Robertson referred to on hearing of the accusations made against him, lodged with the Commission an affidavit in which he states: ‘The deponent never paid a lower price for his fish than others. He always paid the “currency” that was fixed at the end of each season. In conformity therewith the deponent invariably paid his fishermen the same prices as were paid by the leading curers in Shetland.’ It further appears that at no time were fishermen prohibited from taking fish for food for themselves and their families, and Stout himself afterwards explained that by the expression ‘So much fish as could save life’ he meant so much as would buy some whisky or gin to revive themselves—a very different thing. Again, Alexander Lawrenson complained that he had been oppressed to pay up a debt of £22 due by his deceased father.

‘There was £6 allowed by the Shipwrecked Mariners Society, and he (Mr. Robertson) got that too. He was agent here and took it. He would not allow my mother a single penny. She asked for a pound to buy meal with, and he would not give it. He offered her a shilling when she went out, and she would not take it. We never thought of making any complaint. She was a widow and I was a young boy at the time, and what could we do?’

On the following day this witness was recalled and confronted with Mr. Robertson's ledger, which showed £1 actually paid out of the fund to the widow. Being pressed to explain how he came to make such an erroneous statement his only explanation was 'He could say nothing but what his mother said, and it had slipped by her mind.' From these and similar instances it is clear that the oppression of which the Crofters complained was grossly exaggerated, but allowing for this, there is no doubt that in many cases they were ruled with a severity not to be tolerated in the South. As we have said, all this is now a thing of the past, having fallen with the fall of the power of eviction. No proprietor can now enforce any regulations save such as the Crofters' Act or the Common Law allows.

Let us see what will be the result of the changed conditions. First and most important, perhaps, is the removal of the monopoly of trade, constantly held up to the Crofter as an immense boon conferred by the Act. The very idea of a landlord-created Store from which, under pain of eviction, all goods must be bought, and to which all produce for sale must be taken, is repugnant to Southern ideas of freedom, but much is to be said in its favour as suited to the peculiar circumstances of Shetland. Take the case of the Store at Vidlin, of which the complaints before quoted were made. Prior to its erection the Crofters in the district were from twenty to thirty miles from a market at Lerwick without regular means of communication, and for their supplies were dependent on a Store at Voe, some five miles distant from Vidlin, and twelve miles from the furthest point of the Vidlin district. For the good of the neighbourhood the proprietor erected, at a cost of several hundred pounds, a commodious place of business, and arranged for a substantial tenant, who could afford to keep proper supplies, and would encourage fishing industry by purchasing and curing fish on the spot. Such an undertaking could only be successful if it drew to itself the whole trade of the district, and so a monopoly in its favour was created by the simple means of threatening those dealing elsewhere with eviction. This power of eviction

having been abolished, as a consequence small shops are being opened in crofters' houses all over the district, and travelling vans with groceries are seen throughout the country; while the fishermen carry their catches to any dealer who appears in the district promising (but as they have already found out to their cost, in at least one instance, only promising) higher prices than the 'currency,' that is, the average price struck by the principal dealers at the end of the season. In the meantime this competition benefits the crofters and damages the store; but a different story will be heard should a poor harvest be followed by a severe winter. Then, as formerly, the crofter will repair to the store for goods on the credit of his cow to be sold next summer, or the fish to be delivered in the spring, only to find credit refused; because the merchant has no security as he formerly had, that the cow or the fish will not go into other hands than his, and he has no desire again to see what has been too often seen already, customers deep in his books for winter supplies on credit crowding round a travelling van or into a crofter's shop with their ready cash. Few of the crofters in outlying districts can get through the winter without credit, and it will be a bad day for them if the stores held by substantial men are closed owing to the competition of small traders, who in prosperous times may tempt them with apparently, and for the time probably in reality, better value, but who will certainly disappear whenever the pinch of an adverse season is felt. The commissioners, somewhat out with their province, have set their faces steadily against these monopolies and have encouraged the crofters everywhere to break them down and establish free competition, but competition by half a dozen traders in a district with resources only for one is a process with a too certain conclusion, and the crofters may find the privilege of being free to deal where they please only too dearly purchased in the result. Meantime (a matter of no concern to the Commission) the store tenants cannot out of their diminished business pay their rents, and the proprietors are deprived of a reasonable return upon their capital expended for the good of the crofters, while in no case have the Commission imposed a shop-rent upon a trading crofter.

The second consequence to be noticed is the abolition of the proprietors power to regulate the use of the scattald or take measures to prevent its deterioration and destruction by excessive stocking. As has been already stated, the crofter's right of pasture, at the passing of the Act was an indefinite one and not much interfered with, but still the proprietor had the control by means of his power of evicting, or raising the rent of the offending tenant. The circumstances of each tenant and the benefit got by him from the scattald were known to the proprietor or his factor and considered in fixing the rent, so that, although discrepancies undoubtedly did exist, the rough result was reached that the tenant with a large croft and paying a large rent had more sheep and consequently a larger share of scattald than his neighbour of the small croft and the small rent. As the Act had destroyed this power, certain of the proprietors applied to the Commission to have the tenants' scattald rights defined so that it might be known what exactly was the 'holding' including scattald for which a fair rent had been fixed by them, and urged this as imperatively necessary, because otherwise the proprietor could have no check upon an over-pasturing tenant. This application the Commissioners refused, and in their decision they 'Declare that in fixing the fair rents, due regard was had to the amount of stock which the scattald could probably carry, and that the right of each tenant was apportioned in equal shares.' What that 'equal share' for which rent is being paid may be, depends entirely upon the quantity of stock the pasture can properly carry, a point upon which probably no two men would agree; and if a proprietor attempt to limit a tenant's stock on the ground that he is exceeding his proper share, the tenant may retort that that is a matter of opinion; he thinks he is not exceeding it, and his opinion is as good as the proprietor's. In this state of matters it is difficult to see what legal remedy the proprietor can have short of a formal action in Court against all his crofters, to have it declared what is the extent of each crofter's right in the scattald, for which a fair rent has been fixed by the Commission; in other words, to have it judicially de-

clared what number the Commissioners had, or ought to have had in their minds in fixing the rent; certainly as peculiar an action in Court as one could well imagine. Some number they must have had in view in making their valuation, and why they should have declined to make this number known is not very apparent. It is understood that the Commissioners so acted because they were of opinion that the terms of the Act precluded their interfering with the crofters' rights of pasture as they found them. But that is exactly what they have done. As we have pointed out, the seafaring man, with almost no stock, had his rent fixed upon that basis by the proprietor. Now, whether he wish it or no, the Commission say he has an 'equal share' in the scattald with his neighbours, and presumably they have in the fair rent made him pay for this increased pasturage, which he will never use and cannot sub-let. So that, as matter of fact, they have completely dislocated existing arrangements without giving any compensating advantage, such as would have resulted from their fixing the number of stock which each crofter should be entitled to keep. Neglect of the pasture is certain to follow; the landlord has neither interest nor power to interfere, and confusion worse confounded is all that may be looked for in present circumstances. The larger tenants will crowd out the smaller, and pasture and stock will deteriorate; until, by a severe winter, Nature herself will 'regulate' the number of stock in a manner disastrous to its owners.

The fact is, and every day is shewing it more clearly, that the Act has been framed without anything like due consideration of what its effects would be, and without even knowledge on the part of its framers of the circumstances and economy of the districts which were to come within its scope. Conclusive proof of this is found in the third consequence to be noticed. The Act assumes that the houses and out-buildings upon the crofts have been put there by the tenants; and imposes upon them the duty of maintenance and up-keep under penalty of eviction. Such a condition is natural and proper enough to the ordinary croft in the Highlands of Scotland, where the proprietor has simply given off a patch of land, and left the

tenant, with the assistance of his neighbours, to put up dwelling-house, outbuildings, and dykes, all of the meanest description, and, in fact, to 'make the place,' such as it is. But it is entirely unsuitable to many districts in Shetland, where the custom has been for the proprietor to contribute more or less to the erection and repair of the dwelling-houses. Thus it was proved, again and again, before the Commission, that the proprietor had paid for skilled mason work, and provided couples and boarding for the roofs, and lime for the walls, while the crofter had given merely his unskilled labour, in carrying stones and cutting and preparing the turfs or 'pones' placed on the roof under the thatch. The most striking case, however, was the estate of Lunna, where within the last forty years, almost every house had been entirely rebuilt at the expense of the proprietor, and rebuilt in an improved style, with proper rooms, windows and fire-places; every scattald had been divided from adjacent properties by authority of the Court, and had been enclosed to its own townships by miles of expensive wire fencing; while many of the townships themselves had been completely fenced in. Upon these and other improvements it was shown that a sum of over £12,000 had been expended, besides an average annual sum of £130 upon current repairs. In fact, it is not too much to say that many of the crofters there are better housed than small Lowland farmers. By the Act, all this is stopped. On the one hand the rents have been reduced some twenty-six per cent., depriving the proprietor of any fund for repairs, and on the other hand, the burden of maintenance is laid on the tenant. Let any proprietor who takes an interest in his property think what that means. No doubt the Act is stringent in its penalties for dilapidation of buildings, but it is idle to suppose that crofter tenants, under any pressure whatever, will keep up the buildings in their present condition, and the inevitable result will be that the proprietor must stand idly by and see his property, as he has already seen his rents, revert to the condition of 40 years ago; the scattald again open to trespassers from all quarters, the house gables composed of loose stones and turf,—a tragic result, surely, of Liberal legislation.

The fourth consequence to be noticed is that a stop has been put to the creation of small farms. Hitherto it has been a common practice as opportunity offered to throw three or four crofts into one, and enclose off to them a proportion of the general Scattald to be occupied by some industrious Crofter as a small farm at a rent varying from £10 to £40. These graduated farms formed stepping stones to greater things, and the present position of many a large farmer now paying rent in hundreds of pounds is owing to their existence. They offered to every Crofter the chance of bettering his condition, and the prospect of obtaining a farm formed an inducement to industry and good cultivation. Now, however, no enclosing hand can be laid upon the scattald which belongs to the Crofters in perpetuity, and the Act has stopped the creation of these very holdings for which outcry is being made.

One other indirect consequence may be noticed, the maintenance of order and good relationship in a district. Under the old system disputes of all kinds were brought to the proprietor or his factor for settlement, and decided by him in an informal manner. If a man proved himself a bad neighbour and created disturbance or annoyance, a notice from the factor was sufficient to restore peace, and even matters of criminal law, such as assaults or petty thefts, were commonly judged by him without the intervention of the law—a species of jurisdiction favourably regarded by the communities as being the remains of the old Norse system of ‘Rancelmen’ or local keepers of the peace. Here again his power is gone. He may reprimand the culprit as he please; without the power to evict it is a mere *brutum fulmen*, and now his only answer to complaints is of necessity ‘the Law is open let them implead one another.’ What that means in a district forty miles from the seat of justice, communicated with by foot roads and open boats, cannot be understood by one living in a land of railways. Many a grievance is endured from inability to obtain redress, and the peace of many a district has been destroyed simply because there is now no authority available to which the well disposed majority may appeal against perhaps one mischief maker. On the other hand the number of cases of

petty assault and mischief, arising from disputes among neighbours, tried in the Sheriff Court has visibly increased, and the cost of sending officers of Court to outlying districts, and of bringing the culprits and witnesses long journeys to the county town, swells the rates and increases the burdens of the unfortunate landlords.

What then are the nett results of the Act and its administration. As direct and intended results, the crofter has received two distinct benefits (first) reduction of rent, and (second) security of tenure, which enables him to resist the regulations of his landlord formerly enforced by eviction. As indirect results, (first) by the prevention of monopoly the proprietors are discouraged from the expenditure of capital in developing the resources of outlying districts by the establishment of stores, fishing stations, or the like; (second) they are deprived of all control of their property so far as consisting of scattalds, and the crofters are left to dispute among themselves how the stock on each scattald is to be regulated; (third) the burden of building and maintaining dwelling houses, etc., has been thrown exclusively on the crofters; and (fourth) the settlement of all local disputes has been taken from the proprietor and left to the decision of the Courts of Law. We are safe to say that were a poll of the whole crofters taken upon the last three matters a conclusive majority would be given in favour of their former position; and as to the first, we have little doubt that a few years' experience of open competition will convince them that though they may have suffered grievances under the old system of monopoly these were as nothing to the hardships under the new. Already they are beginning to express their dissatisfaction, and at a meeting of crofters recently held at North Roe, the following resolution was passed: 'That the present Crofters Act is unsuitable to the islands as evidenced by the decisions arrived at by the Commission; and, that a petition be drawn up and signed by the crofters and presented to our member of Parliament requesting him to use his influence to have the present Act amended, and therein show reasons why and how the Act is unsuitable for the islands.' On the landlord's side again all is to his disadvantage, and the result, it is to be feared, will be, that he

will consider himself absolved from the duties of land-ownership and regard himself more as a creditor having a fixed charge upon the land. A proprietor cannot be expected to take an interest in the condition of an estate, the control of which has been to such an extent taken out of his hands; nor can blame be attached to one who declines longer to live in a district with tenants who openly defy him, who laugh at his well-intended regulations, and whom he cannot interfere with in the slightest degree. It is not to be wondered at if some landlords, exasperated at their treatment by the legislature, carry out their intention already declared of ceasing to trouble themselves with property which is no longer really theirs, further than to insist upon regular payment of the fixed rent, and of refusing to expend one penny upon management or improvements. Better counsels, however, it is to be hoped, will prevail, and if the crofters, having in open court 'cleansed their stuffed bosoms of that perilous stuff' of old grievances and oppressions, resume their former friendly relations with the proprietors, and set themselves steadily to work to make the most of the crofts now practically their own, in time matters will again settle down.

Meantime, the present dislocation of everything should give pause to eager land reformers, who see no difficulty in 'nationalising' by a short Act of Parliament the whole land in the kingdom. Let them carefully consider the far-reaching results of this comparatively simple Act of Parliament, intended merely to confer fair rents and fixity of tenure, the disturbance it has created in the economic and other relations of the districts affected, and the uncertainty as to the legal rights and obligations of the different parties, and then seriously calculate what, in the same proportion, would be the effects of a general alteration of the land laws. A system which is the gradual development and embodiment of the habits and customs of centuries of patient and honest life and work, must have its roots deep down in the social fabric of the nation, and only with the utmost diffidence and caution should amending hands be laid upon it, even under pressure of grave and apparently absolute necessity.

W. KINNIBURGH MORTON.

*Letter to the Editor from the Treasurer of the Scottish Home
Rule Association.*

EDINBURGH, August, 1890.

SIR,—The letter from Lord Rosebery which appeared in your last number contains a correction of what Mr. Wallace, in his article on ‘The Limits of Scottish Home Rule,’ supposed his Lordship to have said in a speech at Glasgow concerning ‘a certain pamphlet.’ Mr. Wallace supposed Lord Rosebery to have referred to this pamphlet as ‘The Charter of Scottish Home Rule.’ What his Lordship explains he did say was, ‘A Charter of Scottish Home Rule,’ meaning ‘by that that it would be one of the earliest and most important documents in the history of the Scottish Home Rule movement. Of course, “The Charter” has a very different meaning.’

If his Lordship had confined himself to the correction, there would have been no occasion for me to interfere. But Lord Rosebery goes on to say:—‘I made this explanation at the time in a letter to a member of the Scottish Home Rule League, assuming that it would be published: but it has remained in unexpected seclusion.’

It would be far from the desire of the Scottish Home Rule Association to keep Lord Rosebery’s opinions in seclusion, and, as its Honorary Treasurer and the author of the address which elicited his Lordship’s correction, I venture to send you the following statement of the facts, hoping that, notwithstanding his Lordship’s preference for the indefinite over the definite article in dealing with Scottish Home Rule, he may embrace the opportunity of explaining his views.

Having been for four years one of Mr. Gladstone’s constituents in Mid-Lothian, I was asked last autumn by the Executive of the Scottish Home Rule Association to address any meetings which might be got up in the county for the discussion of the question of Home Rule for Scotland. A meeting was held at Dalkeith on 5th December, 1889, and as Lord Rosebery had, on the 22nd of the previous month, in addressing the Glasgow

University Liberal Club, spoken more fully on that subject than he had ever done before, I took the opportunity of commenting on the opinions which his Lordship had expressed. My address was partially reported in the *Dalkeith Advertiser*, and the Chairman of the meeting thought it due to his Lordship to send him a copy of that newspaper. Shortly afterwards, the Chairman received a note from his Lordship's secretary containing, along with a complimentary message to the Chairman and myself, the following words:—'He (Lord Rosebery) observes, however, that some misapprehension seems to have been common as to what he said at Glasgow. He is supposed to have said that the pamphlet of the *Scotsman* "is the Charter of Scottish Home Rule." He said "A Charter," which makes a considerable difference in the purport of the remark.' It did not occur to the Chairman to publish this note, and on a previous occasion his Lordship had taken him to task for publishing, without special authority, letters from his Lordship on a public question. The newspapers by which Lord Rosebery's Glasgow speech had been reported all contained the same reference to 'a certain pamphlet' as '*The Charter of Scottish Home Rule*;' and if Lord Rosebery had desired to publish the correction, it might have been addressed by himself to these newspapers—not by the Chairman of my meeting to the obscure local journal in which alone my address had been reported. Lord Rosebery had many opportunities of correcting the mistake, for the *Scotsman*, which had originally published the pamphlet containing the articles, referred to by his Lordship as '*A Charter of Scottish Home Rule*,' republished the pamphlet, advertised it for a long time afterwards, and is still selling it, with the following on its title-page:—

'THE CHARTER OF SCOTTISH HOME RULE.'

'I hold in my hand what well might be the charter of Scottish Home Rule—a series of articles published in the Scotsman the year before last, reprinted by the Scotsman, circulated by the Scotsman, insufficiently I think. They are very able articles, which give you a reasonable basis and a reasonable theory of Home Rule. It will be well if that pamphlet were more largely read. I am not given to recommending the Scotsman as reading

to political audiences, but I must say when you have the Scotsman on your side in a question which the Liberal party has so eminently made its own, I think you have some ground for congratulation. And all that you have to do in this matter will be a work of not much difficulty. It will be to hold the Scotsman to its present opinions.—Lord Rosebery's Address to the Glasgow University Liberal Club in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, November 22, 1889.

In addressing my audience at Dalkeith, I read first most of the speech with which I had previously opened a discussion in London on Home Rule for Scotland, following it up by the following comments on Lord Rosebery's Glasgow speech:—

‘These, gentlemen, are the words in which I pleaded the cause of our country before a considerable audience, chiefly English, who assembled in the Conference Room of the National Liberal Club, in London, on the 7th of May last, to discuss the question of Home Rule for Scotland. The discussion which followed the reading of my paper resolved itself into a chorus of approval, in which several Englishmen admitted the reasonableness of the views I had submitted. I am often in London, and my experience in discussing this question with Englishmen of every shade of politics is, that their objections to Irish Home Rule are quickly abandoned when they understand that what we Scottish people claim is Home Rule all round—that we wish only to relieve the Imperial Parliament of local legislation, which can be better accomplished by the representatives of the several nationalities meeting in subordinate legislatures in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, and Carnarvon to settle domestic affairs, which are best understood and can be best dealt with by the people whom they respectively concern in their respective capitals; our object being, while so securing proper attention to local interests, to fit the Imperial Parliament for the Imperial duties which at present it cannot overtake, and to pave the way for the ultimate representation in a truly Imperial Parliament of all the Colonies and dependencies of the British Empire.

‘It was with surprise, therefore, that I read in the report of Lord Rosebery's speech at Glasgow, on the 22nd of last month, that, ‘while his principles have always been Federal, and he is in principle in favour of Scottish Home Rule, our real difficulty is

not in Scotland but in England, because a local Parliament is what England does not want, and what England in its present mood is determined not to have.' If that were our only difficulty, then I venture to say Home Rule would be comparatively near at hand.

'The great Duke of Argyle, who did much to bring about the Union of Scotland with England, when supporting, six years afterwards, a motion for its dissolution, which was made and all but carried in the House of Lords, said he had been 'at first for the Union, because he believed it would enrich one country and secure the other; but now, for certain reasons which he at large assigned, he clearly perceived it would beggar Scotland and enslave England.'

'Mr. Morley has let us into the secret of English Liberal policy. England, as a whole, is a Conservative country; but by the Radical votes of the Scotch members, added to those of the English minority, the wishes of the Conservative majority in England are overruled, and to that extent England is enslaved by the Union. It was for this reason that Mr. Morley, when he first appeared before a Scottish audience at Edinburgh, in December, 1886, after coolly informing them that he was altogether opposed to Home Rule for Scotland, added that 'England, poor England, cannot afford to dispense with the noble Liberalism of Scotland.' Scottish Liberals know little of true Liberal principles who do not consider it an axiom of their faith to 'do to others as they would that others should do to them.' We complain that the wishes of Scotland—as happened a dozen times when the Local Government Bill was in Committee last summer—are thwarted by the party votes of English Conservatives; and, for that reason, among many others, we wish to have our local government dealt with by a Scottish legislature. The same feeling, depend upon it, will reconcile many English Conservatives to Home Rule when they see that, by meeting for their domestic legislation with only their own countrymen, England will no longer be enslaved by Scottish, Irish, and Welsh members, overriding the English majority in matters which concern England alone.

'While, to my apprehension, the motive disclosed by Mr.

Morley goes far to explain Lord Rosebery's vacillating utterances on Scottish Home Rule, there are one or two more of his Lordship's observations to which I would venture in all humility to take exception. Lord Rosebery did not say much about Ireland, except to maintain that it is subject to oppression, while our case is one of mere neglect. Although he confessed that the last Government had 'a little burned their fingers over what is called Constitution-making,' his Lordship indicated no intention to profit by the lesson. He and the Executive of the Scottish Liberal Association had managed to pass in the afternoon the following resolution:—

“That this National Conference is of opinion that Home Rule should be granted to Scotland, so that the Scottish people could have the sole control and management of their own national affairs, and suggests that the true solution of the question may be found in granting Home Rule legislatures on a Federal basis to Scotland, England, Ireland, and Wales; but in respect of the urgency of the claims of Ireland, declares that country must have first consideration.”

‘Did you ever hear a better specimen of an Irish bull? As the *Scotsman* remarked next day ‘They declared in favour of Federation, with the absurd proviso that Ireland should be federated first. This is something like arranging for a marriage on condition that the bride shall be married before the bridegroom, because of special conditions which in her case demand despatch. Here are at least four states to be federated, and we are told that one of them must be federated before the other three.’

‘The hard-headed Scottish people are not likely to follow Lord Rosebery into an Irish bog like that. Lord Elgin, who has hitherto presided over the meetings of the Liberal Association, is said always to have had a letter of resignation in his pocket ready to table it when resolutions in favour of Home Rule for Scotland seemed likely to be carried. Lord Rosebery has adopted different tactics, but they are not likely to be more successful in putting Scottish Home Rulers off their scent. Although the British Parliament knows the Scottish national spirit too well to attempt open oppression now that the Scottish people have got the daily papers to post

them up in Parliamentary proceedings and the polls to protect themselves, we know that the Union enabled the Tories to trample on Scotland for more than a century and that for more than fifty years it was wheedled by the Whigs,—that we pay double per head the taxation of Ireland and a good deal more than that of England and get far less back than either of these countries, losing about eight millions a year under the present system—that Scots law is so different from that of England that no Englishman pretends to understand it—that our children for five and twenty years had to grow up without the better education Scotland was ready to pay for because England had to be served first—that Rights of Way are being filched daily from the Scottish people because Englishmen deny us the power to protect them which they possess themselves—and that in a hundred other ways the national interests and the enterprise of Scotland are allowed to suffer merely because a fetish is made of a Parliament which is least thought of by those who know it best. And yet, in the face of such grievances, which only a Scottish Legislature and Executive can remedy, and of the fact, which we know equally well and are assured of by Michael Davitt, that the claim of Home Rule for Scotland will make that of Ireland an assurance doubly sure, Lord Rosebery seems to expect to relegate what has become a national demand to the dim and distant future.

‘For the purpose, apparently, of persuading us to wait until there is a federation of County Councils, Lord Rosebery sneered at our old Scottish Parliament because it sat in a single chamber, and at the *Tales of a Grandfather*—a book which every true Scotsman loves next to his Bible and his Burns. Sir Walter Scott’s extensive reading and instinct for truth and his patriotic Scottish spirit and poetic mind created in these tales, for his grandson and for every Scottish child to the end of time, a history of his country so graphic and picturesque and at the same time so true that it keeps its place in the fore-front of all Scottish histories.

‘Lord Rosebery said he could not consent to the allegation that there was any bribery in the Treaty of Union, and that

all modern historians bear him out in saying it.' The only modern historian who, so far as I am aware, has ventured to doubt the bribery, is Dr. John Hill Burton, and even he does not go so far as to deny it. In a note, however, to his history, Burton mentions some undoubted facts, which show that the Duke of Queensberry was quite familiar with the arts of bribery.

“Queensberry,” he writes, “seems not only to have thought that every man had his price, but to have formed a very moderate estimate of it. He proposes to give £100 to Patterson, in the hope that, as he had set the people on the Darien Scheme, he may be found the “properest person to bring them off from the extravagancy of persecuting it.” His Grace seems to have been ashamed of the idea, admitting that he was a “little embarrassed” how to give such a man money, “as he has no bye-end, and loves this Government both in church and state.”” The Duke, perhaps, went on surer ground, when, in the same letter, he said, “I must tell you one thing which you must keep very secret. I had yesterday a private letter from my cousin, my Lady Marshall, by which she tells me that she does not doubt of bringing her lord entirely under my direction, provided that she may have leave to promise him a pension of £300 a year as Lord Marshall.” It is humiliating even now to think that any Scotsman, far less Scottish noblemen, should have been guilty of accepting money to influence their votes in such a crisis of their country’s history. To my mind, however,—and I have consulted all the printed documents and histories on the subject,—the bribery,—in the shape perhaps of claims which would not otherwise have been paid,—is as clearly established against England in the case of the Scotch as in that of the Irish Union. At that time, the common people of Scotland, except as represented by the boroughs, then close corporations, had no voice in the Scottish Parliament. The power was in the hands of the nobility and lesser barons; and the Scottish nobleman of the period, as a rule, was a sorry specimen of humanity. Of the Scottish nobles who fawned for favours on the last of the Stuart sovereigns in London, Macaulay says:—“In truth, the Council Chamber at

Edinburgh had been, during a quarter of a century, a seminary of all public and private vices; and some of the politicians whose character had been formed there, had a peculiar hardness of heart and forehead to which Westminster, even in that bad age, could hardly show anything quite equal." Lord Rosebery's ancestor Archibald Primrose, first Earl of Rosebery, has never been suspected of accepting any pecuniary bribe, which speaks well for his personal character. He, however, having been one of the gentlemen of the Bedchamber to Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne, was by her, on 10th April 1703, created Lord Dalmeny and Primrose, Viscount of Inverkeithing and Earl of Rosebery, and it does not surprise one to learn that, having been appointed by Her Majesty one of the 31 Scottish Union Commissioners, he voted steadily in its favour in all the divisions on the Treaty in the Scottish Parliament. Sir Walter Scott was convinced that the Union was carried in the Scottish Parliament by wholesale bribery, a circumstance which justly excited the indignation of the people of Scotland. He says:—

“The public indignation was the more just that this large sum of money (about £400,000, called ‘The Equivalent’) belonged to the Scottish nation, being the compensation to be paid to them for undertaking to pledge their revenue for a part of the English National Debt, so that, in fact, the Parliament of Scotland was bribed by public money belonging to their own country. In this way, Scotland herself was made to pay the price given to her legislators for the sacrifice of her independence. Men, of whom a majority had thus been bought and sold, forfeited every right to interfere in the terms which England insisted upon, and Scotland therefore lost that support which, had these Statesmen been as upright and respectable as some of them were able and intelligent, could not have failed to be efficacious; but, despised by the English and detested by their own country, ‘fettered,’ as Lord Belhaven expressed it, ‘by the golden chain of equivalents,’ the Unionists had lost all freedom of remonstrance, and had no alternative left save that of fulfilling the unworthy bargain they had made.”

‘Fletcher of Saltoun, whom a contemporary characterized as “a gentleman steady in his principles, brave as the sword he wears and bold as a lion; a sure friend and an irreconcilable enemy; would lose his life readily to serve his country and

would not do a base thing to save it"—left the same indirect testimony: "On the passing of the Union Act, believing it impossible that a majority of his countrymen could ever have been brought to consent to the annihilation of their ancient monarchy without the influence of English gold, he resolved to quit the kingdom, that he might not share in their reproach by condescending so far as to live among them." It is said that when his foot was in the stirrup, his friends surrounded him anxiously, crying, "Will you forsake your country?" and that, darting on them a look of indignation, he replied—"It is only fit for the slaves who sold it." The fact also received some confirmation from Harley, Queen Anne's Secretary of State, who, during a debate in the British Parliament shortly after the Union, when a proposed tax on Scottish linens was objected to, remarked with brutal frankness, "Have we not bought the Scots? and did we not acquire a right to tax them? or for what other purpose did we give the 'Equivalent?'"

'Perhaps the most objectionable feature of Lord Rosebery's speech was his endeavour to foist upon us what he called "The Charter of Scottish Home Rule." This is a re-publication of some articles published by the *Scotsman* in February 1887, and I may be allowed to quote what is really their only valuable contribution to the Home Rule question:—

"The Imperial Parliament cannot adequately cope with the legislative requirements of the different parts of the United Kingdom. When the complexities of our social condition were fewer than they are at present, when trade was far less than it is now, when railways were not, or were in their infancy; when the electric telegraph was unknown, or unapplied, and had not revolutionised business methods; when men, less pressed by the resources of civilisation, thought more slowly and acted with greater reserve; when education was the luxury of the rich rather than the blessing of the poor; when sanitary appliances were little thought of, and it was not understood that men died from preventible causes; when this was the state of things, the Imperial Parliament could legislate for all the known requirements of the whole of the United Kingdom. But that state of things has passed away, and can never return. New problems face us every day. The natural and just yearnings of the people for the improvement of their condition; the conviction that the earth and the fulness thereof do not belong to the rich alone; the conditions of existence in our large cities; the ever-growing difficulties that arise out of a vastly-increas-

ing trade—all these things throw a load upon the Imperial Parliament which it is unable to bear. The result is seen in faulty and perverse legislation to meet important domestic wants, and loose and unbusinesslike management of Imperial affairs. On the one hand we have Scotland and Ireland and England and Wales neglected in regard to affairs which are exclusively their own; on the other, we have enormously increased Imperial expenditure, military forces which are always declared to be insufficient, grumbling colonies, industries complaining that they are injured, and hasty and unsatisfactory dealing with great questions that ought to have the closest and most careful supervision. The Imperial Parliament has admitted its own incapacity to deal with all the subjects it once used to take in hand. It has parted with some of its work from time to time, and delegated it to other hands. Still the pressure increases; and it is simple fatuity to suppose that the question of further and wider delegation can be long delayed."

‘You will scarcely believe, I daresay, that, after such an exposure of the needs of the four countries, all that the *Scotsman* has to suggest in the way of delegation of legislative power to Scotland, or, in fact, to any of the other kingdoms,—for all are to be treated alike,—is the creation of what it calls an Assembly, in which the superior representatives of Scotland are to sit for the purpose of discussing and moulding such domestic measures as may be remitted to them by the Imperial Parliament, and to report the result for its sanction, the present members being allowed, along with a great majority of English and Irish representatives, altogether ignorant of Scottish affairs, to deal with the reports of the Scottish Assembly as they may think proper. The Assembly is to have no administrative powers; the Scottish Secretary and the Lord Advocate being members of it, but continuing to have offices in London. In fact, if the *Scotsman* had endeavoured to contrive a system marked by all the anomalies which created dissatisfaction and corruption in the Scottish and Irish Parliaments, it could not have better succeeded than by the plan which it has laid before the public. The leading Unionist organ in Scotland, followed humbly by Lord Rosebery, proposes to a people who certainly do not want intelligence, a treatment as regards the management of their own affairs which the pettiest state in North America or the smallest of our colonies would not submit to for a moment. If

Scotland is to have Home Rule, it will be with a fulness and a dignity worthy of an ancient and independent kingdom, and of a people who, for intelligence and energy, good sense and law-abiding character, are without any superior in the world.

‘Lord Rosebery also proposed as “the first question, to get our private bills attended to on the spot. At present,” he said, “they have all to go to London and meet with very expensive and very inconsiderate treatment there. When we have got our private Bill legislation localized in Scotland, then,” in his Lordship’s opinion, “it will be time enough to settle the question with regard to our public affairs.”

‘Although the present system of private Bill legislation costs the country probably £150,000 a year, which might be saved if we had a Scottish legislature, the remedy suggested (which Lord Rosebery’s words would lead one to doubt if he understood) would not get quit of the grievance.

In one of the Local Government Bills lately introduced as a preventative against Home Rule, a proposal was made that Scottish private bills, after being read a second time in parliament, should be referred, if thought fit, to a Permanent Commission sitting in Scotland, to take the evidence there. Like other provisions in these Local Government Bills, the effect of this would be more likely to increase expense than to remove grievances. The same remedy was tried more than forty years ago and completely failed. It has been revived by the selfish interests which are too predominant in the Parliament House of Edinburgh. The true and only remedy is the establishment in Scotland of a legislative body for the management of all matters specifically and exclusively Scotch. It will have no difficulty in attending to Scotch private bills on a system not very different from that hitherto prevailing in the Imperial Parliament. It must never be forgotten that this is legislative work and that, excepting in so far as Scotch private bills have had to be carried through at such a distance, and to run the gauntlet in most cases of two committees, while the Imperial Parliament was too overloaded with work to give them prompt and proper attention, there has been no great cause for complaint. All important private bills raise a distinct question

of public policy and therefore of principle, varying in each individual case. This necessitates an enquiry into the occasion for such bills, not by any permanent judicial tribunal, however constituted, but by legislators elected by the people and representing from time to time their varying views as to the requirements of the country. It is opposed to all modern ideas that the evidence should be taken before any one except the judge of the cause. The present Parliamentary Committee forms a special jury of high intelligence and varying experience, representing for the time the current opinion of the country, and applying without legal formalities their practical common sense to the matter in hand. If such a special jury were superseded by a permanent judicial commission, the enterprise of the country might suffer greatly from the narrow views and red-tape forms which a permanent and irresponsible tribunal is apt to introduce. Private bill business is transacted at present by members of Parliament without remuneration, while the proposed commission would form a very considerable additional burden on Scottish resources. If it were to save expense otherwise, and do the work equally well, that might be of little consequence; but undoubtedly, as was found so long ago, the party to a private bill who had the longest purse would carry his case before Parliament and object to the report of the commission, and the latter state of Scotland in this respect would probably be worse than the first.

‘As a sort of apology for thus offering a stone to the Scottish people who are asking for bread, Lord Rosebery said ‘I prefer to ask for something small in order that it may grow to something greater, rather than to ask for something greater to see it melt to something very small.’ His lordship reserves his modesty for his own countrymen, who, however, have a proverb, ‘Try for a silk gown and you may get a sleeve,’ on which they will probably prefer to act.

‘Lord Rosebery has shewn no such modesty in advocating his pet scheme of Imperial Federation. Let him take care, however, that in tendering advice to the Scottish people on the one hand and to the Colonists on the other he does not fall between the stools.

‘Scotsmen are not likely to be contented with a glorified County Council even if Lord Rosebery should become its chairman, and our Colonists are not likely to embrace his scheme of Imperial Federation unless they obtain representation in the Imperial Parliament. This is clearly the opinion of Sir C. Gavan Duffy, who, in an article in the *Contemporary Review* in January 1888, entitled “An Australian Example,” wrote as follows:—

“A conference at the Colonial Office has done Colonists the honour of attempting to wheedle them into accepting the responsibility of empire without any corresponding authority,—to make them partners in wars over which they could exercise no more control than over the tides of the Pacific,—but any just and adequate recognition of the greatest possessions of the Crown has still to begin.”

‘It has been distasteful to me to differ so widely from a Scottish Nobleman whom I admire so much as Lord Rosebery. But I am here simply as one of the Scottish people, and we will fail to grasp the historical lessons of the Union in which Scotland was sold by her nobility, if we do not learn to trust now, not in Princes but in ourselves. In that sale, the great body of the Scottish people had neither part nor lot. Be it the part of their successors, the free and independent Electors of Scotland, to redeem their Country now!’

I am, Sir, Yours respectfully,

W. MITCHELL.

The Editor of THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

ART. VIII.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (July, August, September).—The address delivered at Weimar, by Herr G. von Loepers, on the occasion of the last meeting of the Goethe Society, is here given to a wider public, under the title ‘Berlin and Weimar.’ The well-known Goethe student’s special aim, in this able and interesting paper is to compare the literary movements which have taken their rise in the two cities, respectively, and which, after developing separately and at different epochs, are now united for one common national object.—In Herr Otto Hartwig’s ‘Florence and Girolamo Savonarola,’ we have a masterly and impartial sketch of the famous Dominican, and a striking picture of the condition of Italy, more particularly of Florence, during the latter half of the 15th century. The essay is not a mere repetition of the old and well-known story of Savonarola’s brief career and tragic death, but also incorporates new and hitherto unknown materials.—In an article which he entitles, ‘Der Kampf der Gegenwart um die Lebensanschauung im Lichte der weltgeschichtlichen Arbeit,’ Professor Rudolf Eucken considers the intellectual condition of the present day, of which he indicates the most characteristic features to be the advance of naturalism, and the retreat of idealism. In order to understand and appreciate the principles involved in the struggle between these two conflicting systems, he holds it to be indispensable that the influences and interest of the moment should be set aside, and that the problem should be studied from the point of view of general history. It is to an investigation of this kind that his paper is devoted.—With a second instalment, Herr von Langeegg closes the essay to which he gives the name of ‘Sacred Trees and Plants,’ and in which he brings together a great deal of interesting information on a quaint subject.—From Herr Julius Rodenberg there is a further addition to the series of articles in which he is recording his reminiscences of Franz Dingelstedt. The period here dealt with extends from 1851 to 1857, and is that during which Dingelstedt was director of the Munich theatre.—The lighter literature is represented by a translation of Salvatore Farina’s ‘Don Quixottino,’ and a light sketch which Herr A. Leffler called ‘Tante Malvina.’—The concluding part of Salvatore Farina’s story, with which the August number opens, is followed by an essay, or rather, the reproduction of a

lecture, in which Herr Erich Schmidt deals with the well-known mediæval figure of 'The Christian Knight,' and shows how he may be looked upon as an Ideal of the 16th century.—Next to this we have another chapter of Herr Rodenberg's 'Franz Dingelstedt.'—Professor Heinrich von Sybel's 'History of the Founding of the new German Empire' is reviewed at considerable length and in a very sympathetic tone by Herr Kluckhohn, and Herr Gneomar Ernst von Natzmer, with the help of manuscript materials, contributes an interesting chapter to the history of the French families whom religious intolerance drove to Germany, in the 17th century. His central figures are the brothers Gaultier.—Not taking into account the usual literary and political reviews, the number closes with a sharp, but not very edifying set-to between Professor Tournier and Herr Gruner on the subject of certain inaccuracies of which the latter complains of in an article which appeared as far back as 1887 on the subject of Stein and Gruner's stay in Austria.—In the September number the article to which English readers, at least, will probably turn first, is that in which Stanley's book is reviewed. The spirit in which this has been done may be gathered from the following conclusion. 'I do not believe that any body will lay this book aside, after reading it, without experiencing a feeling of disappointment. As a literary production it does not rise above the level of mediocrity; it is neither interesting, nor exciting, nor well written. The events follow each other drearily in wearisome diary form; only here and there is an attempt made to give a vivid description, which, however, at once degenerates into exaggeration; and where Stanley wants to be clever he only succeeds in being commonplace. Everywhere he pushes his own person forward, to the almost absolute exclusion of everybody else. . . . It is certainly to be regretted that so important a journey has produced literary and scientific results of such slight value.'—Those who have followed us through our summaries of this Review will have often met with the name of Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach. To this popular and prolific writer Herr Moritz Necker devotes an essay in which, besides giving interesting biographical details, he makes her works the subject of a very able study.—Herr E. Hübner's 'Granada' would have proved attractive reading at any time; but, the catastrophe of which the city has recently been the scene, lends it a kind of 'topical' interest which will probably insure its not being lightly passed over.—The remaining contributions, of which it must suffice to indicate the title, are, 'Franz Dingelstedt,' 'Ueber die Temperamente,' 'Aurora und Nacht des Michelangelo,' 'Historische

Forschung in den Rheinlanden,' two tales, and the usual literary, political, and other letters.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (July, August, September).—Though one of the shortest of the contributions to the July number, the sketch of Emile Augier, which bears the signature of Herr Ferdinand Gross, is that which will best repay perusal. It is written not only with a thorough knowledge, but also with a correct appreciation of the French dramatist's works. He is held up, as, indeed, he deserves to be, as the champion of virtue and honour in the household; and a very striking passage is that in which, as the author of 'L'Aventurière' and 'Le Mariage d'Olympe,' he is contrasted with Dumas, the author of 'La dame aux Camélias.' The only fault to be found with the sketch is its brevity.—In an interesting paper on the pre-historic remains which bear the various names of dolmens, menhirs, and cromlechs, Herr F. von Löher gives, in the first place, a general description of these monuments; he then indicates the various parts of the world where they are to be seen, and, after calling attention to the points of similarity between them, he goes on to examine into the special use for which they were intended, and endeavours to decide by what nations or races they were erected. His conclusions are that their origin is Germanic, and that they were for the most part sepulchral monuments.—The early civilisation of the Arabs is the subject of a short but readable article by Herr Wilhelm Richter.—Herr Oskar Sommer concludes with a second instalment, his somewhat technical, but exhaustive and valuable study of the ecclesiastical architecture of Berlin; whilst Herr Pröl contributes a profusely illustrated sketch of the 'Bohemian Switzerland.'—In the August number an essay deserving special mention is that which Herr Prölss devotes to Madame Roland. Her remarkable career, first at Lyons and later in Paris, where she exercised such influence on the Girondins, and incurred the hatred of the Montagne, and her death on the scaffold, are sketched with a literary skill and an historical impartiality which give special interest to this re-telling of an old tale.—Another biographical sketch, though of a very different kind, occurs in the same number. It is that of the poet Lenau, the author of a 'Faust' fragment, of 'Savonarola,' and of the 'Albigenses,' as well as of lyrics of which some have become popular. The story of his life, over which insanity cast a blight, is well and pathetically told, and his works are reviewed in a sympathetic but by no means exaggerated spirit.—The cemeteries of Constantinople have been chosen by Herr Brachvogel as the subject of a

paper which has at least the merit of being short.—It is an opinion commonly expressed by tourists that, with the exception of its cathedral, Cologne has but little of interest, and may easily be ‘done’ in the short interval between the arrival of the train and the departure of the boat. As against this, however, we have here an article in which Herr Bölsche gives us, with both pen and pencil, a very different impression of the ‘German Rome,’ and shows it as it really is—full of memorials of a brilliant past.—Though but little known in this country, even by name, Nostradamus has not yet altogether lost in France the reputation which he enjoyed during his life-time as an astrologer and a seer. He was a Jew, and was born in the early part of the 16th century at St. Remi, in Provence. He studied medicine at Montpellier, and, after having travelled through Guyenne, Languedoc, and Italy, settled at Salon, where he soon acquired considerable reputation for his skill in the healing art. Having been summoned to Aix and Lyon to combat epidemics which were raging there, he applied a treatment of which he would not reveal the secret, with such success that he incurred the jealousy and hostility of the faculty. This drove him into private life, where he gave himself up to astrology, and soon became as famous as a prophet as he had formerly been as a doctor. Catherine de Medicis often consulted him, and bestowed rich presents on him. Charles IX. appointed him to be his physician in ordinary, and the Duke of Savoy came to France expressly to consult him. His predictions, drawn up in the shape of enigmatic quatrains, are divided into seven ‘centuries.’ It is with these prophecies that Herr Schulte mainly deals in the article which he contributes to the September number. As a sample we may quote one of the many quatrains in which reference to Napoleon has been found:—

‘Le captif prince aux Itales vaincu
 Passera Genues par mer jusqu’ à Marseille,
 Par grand effort des forains survaincu,
 Sauf coup de feu, barril liqueur d’abeille.’—

In this part we again have a biographical essay. This time the subject of it is Karl Maria von Weber.—If we had to indicate the contribution of widest interest, we should probably name that of the well-known Egyptologist, Heinrich Brugsch. His subject is ‘The Oldest Gold Mines,’ and his treatment of it is most interesting and instructive.—From Graf Pfeil there is a description, accompanied by numerous engravings, of the temples of Java.—Through all the numbers the lighter literature is good, Herr Juncker’s contribution to it, ‘Im Zweiten Rang,’ particularly so.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (July, August, September).—The most important contribution to these numbers is the philosophical essay in which Herr von Hartmann examines Wundt's system of philosophy, and of which the two instalments will be found in the July and August parts. The writer deals pretty severely with Wundt, and points out that he has taken up an untenable position between not two, but four or five, stools, with the result that he and his system with him cannot help falling heavily to the ground.—The 17th of May of the present year marked the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Margrave of Brandenburg, on whom the title of Duke of Prussia was first conferred, and who, after renouncing his title of grand master of the Teutonic order, was the first of his house to embrace the doctrines of Luther. It was he who founded the university of Königsberg, where his fourth centenary was duly celebrated, and where, in presence of the Emperor and Empress of Germany, Professor Hans Prutz delivered an address which is now reproduced under the title of 'Herzog Albrecht von Preussen,' and which contains a sketch of his career.—Two of the other articles in the August number are reviews of recent publications, the one of Goethe's diaries, the other of a biography of Jean Paul.—In addition to this, there is, under the title 'Was wir unsern Kolonien schuldig sind' a reply to two pamphlets in which it appears the authors have spoken calumniously of the Baltic provinces.—The July part also devotes considerable space to reviews. The first of these is devoted to Justi's Life of Velasquez, published as far back as 1888; the next deals with a treatise, likewise two years old, on the question of extradition; whilst the third summarises the fourth and fifth volumes of Professor Heinrich von Sybel's History of the founding of the German Empire by William I. Besides these, there is also a long biographical sketch of Victor Hehn, a Russian official, and, it appears, a man of wide learning and culture, which did not, however, prevent him from entertaining and expressing a childish hatred of England and the English.—In the last of the three numbers the article most likely to attract the notice of English readers is that in which Dr. Damme sets forth his views as to the character of Hamlet. Or rather, his object is to show that Hamlet's character is of secondary importance, and that the leading idea of the tragedy is the futility of his efforts to convict the king of murder and to assume the part of avenger.—Two contributions deal, though somewhat indirectly with the question of education. In the former of these Professor Hölder considers the necessity for shortening the length of the University vacation, and in the other the position and pay of

school teachers are discussed, the result arrived at being that, whilst much has been done to ameliorate these, a good deal might still be done.—An article upon the prison system of Germany, and a long review of a book published five years ago—a history of Germany in the Middle Ages—complete the number.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Erstes Heft. 1891).—Herr F. Sander takes occasion from the centenary of the birth of one of the principal founders of the ‘Theologische Studien und Kritiken,’ Herr Gottfried Christian Friedrich Lücke, to recall the controversy, which in his day occupied so many of the leading theologians of Germany, and which Lücke contributed to bring to a harmonious settlement. It was as to whether the Scriptures or the Confession—the Apostle’s Creed chiefly—was the ultimate Standard of Faith. The controversy may be said to have originated with Lessing and Schleiermacher, though it was Ferdinand Delbrück that gave to it definite form in the second volume of his ‘Christenthum.’ Herr Sander gives here a *resumé* of the position taken up by Delbrück, and the arguments brought forward by him to justify his opinion, that not the Scriptures, but the Creed, was the ultimate Rule of Faith. He gives a brief account of the ‘answers’ that work called forth from J. C. W. Augusti, Karl Immanuel Ritzsch, and Karl H. Sack, and then details more fully that of Lücke.—Professor Max Reischle criticises at considerable length Professor Julius Kaftan’s well-known work, ‘Die Wahrheit der Christlichen Religion.’—Herr W. Köppel discusses the views of Dr. Zahn, and Professor Harnack on the history of the New Testament Canon, bringing out the points on which they agree, and then those on which they are at variance with each other, and seeks finally to adjudicate between them, or gives an independent judgment on the matters under dispute. The other articles are, ‘Noch einmal die Luthersche Erklärung der vierten Bitte im Vaterunser,’ by Dr. Carl Bertheau; and ‘Vier bisher unbekannte Ausgaben des Katechismus der böhmischen Brüder,’ by Dr. G. Kaweran. The Books noticed are Schlottmann’s, ‘Kompendium der Biblischen Theologie des Alten und neuen Testaments,’ and the publications of the Hungarian ‘Protestantisch Litterarische Verein.’

DENMARK.

AARBØGER FOR NORDISK OLDKYNDIGHED OG HISTORIE—YEAR-BOOK FOR NORTHERN ARCHÆOLOGY AND HISTORY—(2nd Series. Copenhagen, 1890). The first part of vol. 5 con-

tains 'Researches in Bornholm with special reference to the later Iron Age' by *E. Vedel*, being additions to the same writer's work 'Memorials and Antiquities of Bornholm.' An account is given of recent finds, from which the writer concludes that 'the same spots had been sacred to the repose of the dead from the days of the stone age right on to the fall of heathenism,' implying the existence of a stationary population. An attempt is made to fix the dates of the several periods in the Iron Age, thus:—1. Older Iron Age,—Pre-roman (till about 100 A.D.); Roman (100-350); Germano-roman (350-450). 2. Later Iron Age—Germanic (450-700; Irish (700 to 850 or 900); Carolingian (850 or 900 to 1050); the term 'Middle Iron Age' is regarded as unnecessary. The Irish period and the special features of its ornamentation receive particular attention and the writer believes that this influence reached Bornholm and Gotland through the Irish monks in France and Switzerland. The cup-shaped brooches are also carefully discussed and a number of good illustrations given. Beads of glass, etc., are examined at length with a view to ascertain their age. Elaborate tables and a full appendix of finds add to the value of the article.—Part 2 is occupied with 'Observations on the Age and Style of Roskilde Cathedral,' by *Jul. Lange*, who combats the conclusions of *Profs. Löffler and Kornerup* as to which end the building was begun at. He assigns the architecture to the period of transition to Gothic and seeks its origin in France, but rejecting the views that either *Noyon* or *Clairvaux* was the model he works out a hint of *Prof. Adler* that the original was to be sought at *Tournay*. The most interesting part of the article is that which traces the close connexion between *Bishop Stephen* of *Tournay* and *Bishop Peter Suneson* of *Roskilde*, showing not only how intimate these two were but that the former was a zealous builder and that in all probability the latter visited him in *Tournay*. A further hint of this influence is found in the resemblance of the upper choir windows at *Roskilde* to those in the *Chapelle de Saint Vincent* at *Tournay*,—the original plan at the former having been altered to introduce these. The work was probably executed by a French architect and Danish workmen, and begun sometime about 1193 to 1203 A.D. A number of full-page illustrations are given.—(Part 3). 'On the descent of the Eskimos,' by *H. Rink*, is a continuation of previous articles, and treats of the conclusions which may be drawn from the names given to certain objects (animals, birds, boats, weapons, etc.) by the different Eskimo tribes.

From the close correspondence of these it may be inferred that the original home of the Eskimo was some comparatively small coast-line, which had been reached by way of one or other of the great Canadian rivers. The development of the kayak and of the Eskimo house seems to indicate Alaska as the starting point, but at least we cannot suppose the rise of two independent branches, an eastern and a western,—all Eskimo 'civilization' must have had a common origin.—The so-called 'sacrificial and votive finds' of prehistoric Denmark, are the subject of an article by H. Petersen, who opposes the religious interpretation supported by Worsaae. The condition of the finds show that they were not hurled into a lake as offerings to the gods, but were carefully and systematically deposited in such a way that they could be easily lifted again. He is fully convinced that they are plunder from camp and battlefield, the result of victories by an invading host, hidden with a view to being taken up again on the return march, and all dating about the 4th or 5th century. The finds belonging to the stone and bronze age, however, are probably hoards deposited for safety in time of war.

R U S S I A .

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—Russian Opinion—(June, July, and August).—In our last issue we omitted to state that the May number of this excellent periodical contained Book I., and three chapters of Book II., of a tale by Mr. D. N. Mamin (who writes under the pseudonym D. Sibiryahkah) entitled 'Three Issues,' founded on annals of the Oural. It is here continued to the eleventh chapter of Book V., but promises the conclusion in the next number.—'Ireland Forty Years Ago,' by Miss Anne Carey, proceeds from the twentieth chapter to the close.—'Poetry' is indulged in very sparingly, six short pieces by Messrs. F. Chervinski, V. L. Velichko, D. S. Merezhofski, L. I. Palmin, P. A. Kozloff, and A. M. Fedoroff, sufficing for the three monthly numbers.—'Without Dogmas,' by Mr. H. Senkevich, exhibits, as yet, no sign of weariness, although in diary form, than which few literary efforts sooner degenerate into dulness.—'Foreign Review,' by Mr. V. A. Goltseff, gives an outline of French and German politics; touches on Bulgarian, Serbian, and Armenian questions; notices the Brazilian revolt; and discusses the M·Kinlay tariff bill in the United States.—The 'Bibliographic Division' gives notices of books in classes, as usual. We have now before us in (1) Belles-lettres, nine works; (2) Political Economy, Finance, and Statistics, nine works; (3) Jurisprudence, seven works; (4) Ethnography, Philology, and Archæology, ten works; (5) Naturalism, six

works, including 'Darwinism,' by Alfred Russel Wallace; (6) Rural Economy, fifteen works; (7) Medicine, nine works; (8) Elementaries, seventeen works; (9) Books of Information (Encyclopædias, etc.), seven works; (10) History and Biography, five works; (11) Philosophy and Pedagogy, two works; (12) Publicism, one work; and (13) Periodicals, five works: in all, one hundred and two works.—(June and July)—These numbers furnish us with 'Charles Darwin and His Theory,' an unfinished review, by M. A. A., of *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*.—'Scientific Views' are devoted to 'New Investigations of Peasant History in certain parts of Germany,' by Mr. A. A. Manueloff; and to 'Geographical News,' by Mr. V. M. Michaelofski.—'Home Review' devotes 47 pages to domestic affairs of little interest to other than Russians.—Mr. M. S. Koraylin's 'Serious Moments in the History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages' is continued.—'Peasant Anxiety' (Moozheetskahyah Kalgotah*) is the name of a short story by Mr. I. A. Saloff.—'A Short Description of the Condition of the Population of Eastern Siberia,' by Mr. N. M. Astyreff, is of very great interest.—In addition to the above, there are twenty-one articles special to one or other of the three numbers, of which we can allude to the principal only.—The June number contains the concluding portion of 'Borskahyah Koloniyah,' a narrative of the life of a commercial company, by Karonin, which we wrongly stated in our last to be then completed.—'Travel in the Extreme East,' by Mr. M. I. Venukoff, is as exciting as such records usually are.—A curious enquiry, 'In what consists the attraction to the Anthropological School of the rights of criminals?' is pursued by Mr. A. Drilyah.—The July number contains 'Evolutsiyah Idey-Seel,' a review by Mr. V. A. Goltseff of M. Fouillée's *L'évolutionnisme des idées-forces*, 1890.—Mr. F. G. Mishchenko in a learned article labours to show 'What the source is of the impassable worth of the ancient Greek classics.'—'Rabelais, his life and works,' is an article based on Paul Stapfer's book of the same title.—A list of the works of the late 'Madame Nadezhdah Dimitrievna Khvoshchinski,' who wrote under the pseudonym V. Krestofski, occupies nearly four pages of brevier. It numbers about seventy works, ranging between the years 1850 and 1889.—The August number contains a continuation of the transcriptions from the correspondence of Messrs.

* Kalgotah is a word not to be found in ordinary dictionaries. It is formed from the purely local reflective verb *Kalgoteetsyah*, which signifies—to be disquieted, to fret, to busy or bestir one's self, to be anxious or solicitous, or to alarm one's self.

Hertzen and Ogareff, recommended as 'Materials for a History of Russian Society.'—'An Imaginary Combat with the West' should be studied by all *litterateurs* who are fond of engaging in an imaginary combat with Russia. They perhaps would find Mr. Vladimir Solovieff their match.—'Portugal and her Literature' is very opportune reading while Portuguese matters are so prominently to the fore as they are at present. Mr. Oswald Crawford's *Portugal, Old and New*, has been laid under contribution by the writer, Mr. M. Watson.—'History of German Literature in the Nineteenth Century' is a fertile field chosen by V. M. R., and is far from exhausted in 34 pages.—'Outlines of Russian Life' are again undertaken by Mr. N. V. Shelgoonoff.

VESTNIK EVROPY—Messenger of Europe—(June, July, and August).—The fact that this 'Messenger of Europe' completes a volume every two months, makes it that a certain incoherence obtains in our quarterly review of the same. We have always the first or second half of an incomplete volume before us. This present quarter we are obliged to dip farther into the three numbers than previously to find a point of agreement. The first such point is the 'Chronika,' of which the section on 'Home Review' treats of general Church work, including missionary efforts, as reported by the Synodal Ober-procuror for 1887; the State of Orthodoxy in the extreme eastern and western governments of Russia; the Strife of Tongues in the East; Dissent and Sectarianism; Church day-schools (*prihodskiyah*) and schools of higher education (*gramotnosti*). Also of the International Penitentiary Congress and questions of juvenile criminality; Rural labour statistics, as materials for investigating the condition of village economy; Postal Manifesto for the district of Finland, and other matters of internal interest.—'Foreign Review' comprehends—Political vicissitudes in Germany; Results of the removal of Prince Bismarck; Enlargement of the German army; New German politics and their practical results; Anglo-German agreement; the June 14th despatch of Lord Salisbury to Sir E. Malet; Official motives for the cession of Heligoland; Question of the English partition of Africa; Peace Society's Congress at London; Possible rapprochement with Russia on the Bulgarian question; French and Spanish affairs, etc.—The 'Literary Review' notices—*Kazan, its past and present*, by M. Pineyghin; *Illustrated History of Printing and Art Typography*, by F. I. Bulgatoff, Vol. I.; *Problems and Method of the Science of National Economy*, by V. Levitski; *Concerning the Mind and Method of Education*, by Michael Zelenski; *Ancient manner*

of *Land and House Service*, from family chronicles, 1578 to 1762. Compiled by E. Shchepkin; *Literary Meetings and Acquaintance*, a book of the reminiscence class now so common, by A. Milyoukoff; *Slavyahney* (Slavonian dialects), *their Reciprocal Relation and Connection*, by Joseph Pervolff; *Russian Science in the Last Twenty-five Years*, Public Lectures delivered at the University of Novo-Rossisk, by Professor V. I. Modestoff; *Account of the Imperial Public Library*, in 1887, besides several volumes of Translations and the Transactions of various learned Societies.—‘New Foreign Literature’ contains notices of—1. *La France et la Russie*, par E. de Cyon. 2. *L’Alliance Russe*. Response à le Colonel Stoffel, par Colonel Villot. 3. *Antagonismus der Englischen und Russischen Interessen in Asien*. Eine militärpolitische Studie. 4. *Les Lois de l’imitation*. Etude sociologique, par G. Tarde. 5. *Tableau des Origines et de l’évolution de la Famille et de la Propriété*, par Maxime Kovalevsky. 6. *Le surmenage mental dans la civilisation moderne*, par Marie Manaccine. Traduit du Russe par E. Jaubert. 7. *L’évolutionnisme des idées-forces*, par Alfred Fouillé. 8. *La Civilisation et les grand fleuves Historiques*, par Léon Metchnikoff. 9. *Der nächste Allgemeine Strike der Deutschen Bergarbeiter und seine rationelle Bekämpfung*, von Ernst Matthias.—The ‘Society Chronicle’ occupies thirty-eight pages, and the ‘Bibliographic Leaves’ relegated to the paper covers notices of fourteen works, among which we observe a translation by M. Loftsovoy of the 14th edition of the *Life of Sir John Lubbock*, and an original work by Y. A. Novikoff, entitled *Protectionism*.—(June and July.) These numbers alone treat us to a little ‘Poetry,’ of which Messrs. P. Kozloff, who contributes two pieces, K. Medvydski, four, and O. M—va, three, are the respective authors.—(July and August.) ‘Recollections of Childhood,’ by Madame Sophia V. Kovalefski, a piece of charming reading, is complete in 101 pages.—‘Effective Service,’ a completed narrative by Mr. I. Potapenko.—‘Lobanofshchin’ is the title of a lengthy romance in two parts, of which we are not yet certified that the first is completed. It is written by Mr. V. Shiloff.—Mr. V. I. Shenroke contributes an interesting paper on ‘N. V. Gogol: commencement of his literary career, 1829 to 1831.’—‘Passion’s Slave,’ a romance by Mr. Richard Ashe King, is translated from English by A. E., and carries us through fifteen chapters.—The remaining twenty-one papers are special each to one number, and will here be passed over lightly. In June, Mr. P. D. Boborykin’s romance ‘Na Ooshcherby’ (On Loss) was brought to a close.—‘Foundling Hospitals in Russia’;

'California,' by Mr. Platon Chikhacheff; 'In Asia Minor,' by Mr. V. Teploff; and 'New Reforms in intermediate education in France,' are each of interest.—The July number furnishes us with 'Three weeks in Sicily,' by an anonymous Prince.—A lengthened review, by A. V—n, of the first volume of Mr. V. A. Bilbasoff's 'History of the Empress Catherine II.,' and a paper 'On the motive of the Exhibition at Tashkend,' give additional value to the number.—The August specialties are chiefly a review of *Bismarck and State Socialism*, an exposition of the social and economic legislation of Germany since 1870, by William Harbutt Dawson; and a paper by Mr. A. Brikner, entitled 'Gustavus IV. and Catherine II. in 1796.'

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (June 16th, July 1st, 16th, August 1st, 16th, September 1st, 16th).—Taking the first of these numbers, we have an article by A. Chiappelli on women in the philosophical schools of Greece, pointing out that ancient science was the outcome of the whole human being, and that therefore women were able to contribute to it their quota of sentiment and imagination, while modern science is almost totally destitute of those qualities. The writer goes on to describe the work and influence of the Greek female philosophers, who, though gifted with powerful intellects still acknowledged and proved that the true power and glory of woman lies in the domestic affections.—The story of Frederic Gonfalomeri is continued and is brought to a conclusion in the following number of the magazine.—G. R. Salerno writing on the international legislation of labour, mentions all the most important books and reports written on the subject in England and Germany, and comes to the conclusion that it is not possible to impose strict limits to the hours of labour, but that laws can and should be applied to special cases more than is yet done.—G. B. Intra gives an interesting history of Margaret of Savoy, Duchess of Mantua in the 16th century. In the literary notices the celebrated Italian poet speaks with high praise of a small volume of lyrics by Annie Vivante, and E. Masi reviews at length De Auvoices' 'Storia d' un Maestro.'—The Bibliographical Bulletin notices many new Italian books and two English ones: '*The Dante Collections in Harvard and Boston*,' by W. Lane, and '*Labour and Life in East London*,' by A. Booth.—In the next number Professor Villari gives an important contribution to a detailed history of Florence in an article on the first wars and reforms of the Florentine Commune.—Countess Lovatelli writes a learned paper on the

cult of Isis in Rome, and E. Arbib contributes an interesting article advocating the reduction of military service in Italy to two years.—A new novel by L. Capuana, entitled 'Profumo,' is commenced and continued in the following numbers.—A. Majorana has a paper on English Socialism, which he approves of as practical, and aiming more at evolution than revolution. He compares it favourably with French Socialism.—The reviews are dedicated to German and Italian books.—The number for July 16th contains little of importance beyond the close of Bonghi's article on 'Andrassy as a fortunate man of science.' There are papers on 'Fatalism in the Middle Ages,' by A. Graf; a full account of the International Congress in St. Petersburg, by P. Nocito; a description of the new improvements in Rome, by L. Ferraris, and a review of 'Some translations of Tennyson's minor poems,' by F. Rodriguez.—The subject of improvements in Rome is continued in the following number, by L. Ferraris, who condemns the new regulation of Rome as bad and contemptible.—F. Nitti, writes on Leo X. and his policy with respect to his relatives.—Edward Arbib, has another military article urging various reforms in the army, which he says is not in a state to cope with the gigantic armies of other states.—E. Mancini apropos of Stanley's accounts of the pigmies in Africa, enumerates the ideas of the pigmies entertained by ancient historians, and discusses the anomalies in human stature.—E. Masi briefly notices the biography of Nicola Spedalieri written by Signor Cimbali.—In the second August number we have an inquiry into the identity of Ugo Foscolo's 'Lama,' giving her history as Isabella Fiochi, who, divorced from her first husband, was loved by Foscolo in the interval before she married her second.—G. Boglietti, in a review on Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, says that the author's error, and that of all preceding communists, is their belief that the evils of society are caused by the existing political and social institutions, while they are really the result of the egotism which is inherent to the human race, and ineradicable. He praises Bellamy for his great faith, rare ability both of attack and defence and geniality of style, but believes that his book will be soon forgotten, or relegated to the list of works which prove that home-sickness for the 'ideal' is most persistent and incurable,—'Pietro Aretino and Pasquin' are learnedly treated by A. Luzio.—The Review of Foreign Literature notices with praise the following English books:—Rigg's edition of Sir Thomas More's Life of Pico della Mirandola; 'Balzac,' by Frederick Wedmore; and Mr. Conway's Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne.—The Bibliographical Bulletin reviews two important publica-

tions; Professor Penton's 'Barbaric Donations to the Popes' which enumerates the public rights of the Roman church before the barbaric dominion, the donations obtained from the barbarians, their value and effect; the donations received after the Carolingian dominion; the concessions made to the Popes by the Emperors of Constantinople and later recognized by the barbaric Kings of Italy, which increased the papal revenues, and connected the Papal State with the Germanic monarchical system and military feudalism;—and Guido Levi's 'Registers of the Cardinals Ugolino d'Ostia and Ottaviano degli Ubaldini' which are of such critical and diplomatic value that it is a wonder they have not been published before. The first register consists of 125 documents, almost all of the year 1221, when Cardinal Ugolino was Pope's Legate to many Italian cities. The register principally consists of an account of Frederick II's. crusade, it being the Cardinal's mission to preach in its favour. The second register comprehends the history of the year 1252, the period of the struggle between papacy and Frederick II.—In the first of last month's numbers E. Ferro writes a full account of Stanley's 'Darkest Africa,' giving the illustrious traveller unstinted praise and the fullest appreciation, without a touch of the envy which almost universally peeps through the reviews of foreign critics, especially of the Germans. The writer compares Stanley's gentleness of disposition with his phenomenal coolness and severity in case of need. He believes that, while explorers, imbued with the same spirit of enterprise, will never be wanting, a man, gifted like Stanley with all the qualities necessary to the success of grand explorations, united to an attractive persuasiveness and an adamantine physique, will perhaps never be again found.—C. Correnti's 'Life and Works,' by T. Massarani, is a foretaste of a historical work describing the life and times of that patriot which is likely to excite great interest in Italy and abroad.—Signor Bonghi, in a paper on 'Peace,' reports the resolutions adopted by the Peace Conference in London.—A new novel, 'A False Vocation,' is commenced, by Signora Pigorini Beri.—A Valdarmieri has an article on 'The Reason of Law according to Montesquieu and Filangieri.'—In the last number for September E. Masi has an article which goes to prove that there was nothing mysterious (as is often believed) in the change of character observed in King Charles Albert from a graceful brilliant youth to a taciturn and sorrowful king, and that the King's expressions 'My life was a romance—I was never truly known—No one will ever know all I have done for Italy,' were the natural outcome of the disillusionments he experienced and the sacrifice he made. The more

there is known about him, the more clearly is shown his moral grandeur,—‘Pro Patri’ is an article on the war budgets and the political and financial condition of Italy by Miles Antiguus, which is not finished in this number.—L. Nocentini writes on Tonquin, to which he believes that France will restore its former prosperity, with the aid of England in Burmah.—G. Boglietti gives a full account of the death of Don John of Austria.—The ‘Bibliographical’ notices a reproduction from the old prints of ancient songs of the people of Italy, by M. Menghini, the songs being chiefly of a historical or narrative character.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (July 1st).—X. writes a short monograph on Carlo Pagano Paganini, the Italian philosopher and writer, who died last year; and A. Zardo on the poet Luigi Venturi.—The paper on Condorcet as pedagogue and philosophic historian, by A. Valdarnini, is concluded.—A. V. Pernice writes against the new law on public charities.—In this and following number, the dialogue on scepticism and pessimism, by A. Conti, is continued and concluded.—(July 16th) G. Taormina draws a critical parallel between the Italian revolutionary dramatist, Batista Nicolini, and the French poet, Delavigne.—E. Pistelli writes the story of St. Catherine de’ Ricci.—R. Coniani reviews the political article published in this magazine by R. Stuart.—From the latter writer, there is a slight paper on sea-side life in England. (August 1st).—From the memoirs of General Sheridan, A. V. Vecchi gathers materials for an interesting study on ‘Gravelotte and Sedan, as judged by an American General.’—G. Boglietti describes the rehabilitation of Maria Carolina by J. C. Jeaffreson in his ‘Queen of Naples.’—R. Mazzei has some considerations on the political movement in Italy from a Conservative point of view.—C. F. Bardi writes on the Paris Peace Society with a view to ascertaining whether their ideas are alien to progress.—Chevreul and the chemistry of his time is the theme of a paper by S. De Favere.—N. Castagna gives an interesting sketch of Doctor Filippi-Pepe, a military surgeon at the Fort of Contella, in Tronto, who every morning used to mount his ass and visit the people in the neighbourhood. He was also a poet, and when he died in December, 1812, great honours were paid to his memory. (August 16th).—XXX. publishes considerations on Italy and the Triple Alliance after Bismarck’s resignation, pointing out that Italy’s most difficult task will be to determine what conduct to pursue in preparation for the ceasing of the treaties that, till 1892, draw Italy into connection with the central European powers. The solution of this problem will certainly be of serious consequence to all Europe. If Italy in 1892 renews

the treaties made in 1887, she must for ever renounce the hope of improving her relations with France.—The paper on Horatius Flaccus by C. Antona-Traversa is continued.—E. R. Sanseverino tells us the story of the Castle of Campello.—In this and the following number, the hydraulic works in the province of Emilia are discussed by G. Cassani.—A. Paseolato writes on the use of the telephone in Parliament; and J. Pizzi describes the works of the poet Firdusi.—The monthly review of foreign literature devotes its pages to English editions of travel, all more or less relating to Stanley and his adventures. (Sept. 1st.)—A. de Johannis discusses the rearrangement of Lending Institutions; and P. E. Castagnola continues his ‘Roman Poets of the second half of the 19th Century’ by describing the lyric verses of Guiseppe Maccari, born at Florence in 1840.—An important article is a posthumous one by Father G. B. Centurione, of the Society of Jesus, written in 1880, and now published for the first time. Father Centurione died in 1882, and was not, like Father Curci, expelled the Society, probably because he was rich and a noble. His article, on the temporal power of the Pope, is remarkable for a Jesuit. He says that the Italians ought to accept the reunion of the Papal territories to Italy, because the actual Italian government is the only one possible. He says it is impossible for the Pope to re-acquire the temporal power, not only because the will of the nation is against it, but also because the European Powers are indifferent to the Pope’s appeals. Political cares are little adapted to clericals, who have generally but little notion of how to manage terrestrial affairs, especially when the governmental machine is complicate. God, he says, has permitted for His own divine ends the present position of things. The Church has gained by the loss of her temporal power, inasmuch as she can attend more closely to her spiritual affairs.—A. Tagliafeiri, writing on the dangers of Operative Societies, says that their aim should be the promoting of moral conduct, industry, and economy in their members, which will never be obtained by disregard of the laws of God and man.—Italy and Catholicism is the theme of a paper by X.—A. Brunialti briefly describes a book by L. Bricchetti-Robecchi, describing a visit to the oasis of Jupiter Ammon, in the Lybian desert. This oasis lies in the depths of the desert below the level of the sea, and, with the small neighbouring oases, has a population of about 6000 souls—partly Senuffi, partly Mahdists—all most corrupt and miserable. While Bricchetti-Robecchi was there an earthquake took place, which was attributed by the population to the stranger’s malignity, so that he was obliged to go to Mauur, whence he visited the ruins of the celebrated

temple. He made a collection of antiquities from the neighbouring necropolis; studied the language, songs, and dances of the district; witnessed the great fair held in the month of September, at which are present a diversity of human types not easily met with elsewhere; and gained a remarkable insight into Moslem life in its most isolated and neglected branches.—‘*Il Gondoliere*’ offers various considerations concerning Dante’s famous line—

‘*Quinci non passa mai anima buona,*’

proving that Dante and Virgil never crossed the Acheronte. (Sept. 15th.)—G. Boglietti writes on ‘Lord Strafford, a champion of absolute monarchy,’ the paper being suggested by recent publications.—A. Galassini writes an interesting account of the ‘May’ or ‘May-Play,’ as observed at Pievepelago, on the Apennine frontier of Tuscany, where the custom is rapidly dying out. The theme of the ‘May’ is taken from the story of saints, knights, and classic heroes, but especially from the war between Christians and Saracens. The actors, who are also singers, advance two by two in some place in the open air, preceded by fiddlers. The ‘Prologue’ presents himself in a white dress, with a wreath of flowers, and sometimes with wings. The clown or buffoon is dressed in coloured rags, a necklace of onions, and similar ludicrous decorations, and is armed with a stick somewhat like that of a harlequin. The women actors are arrayed as splendidly as possible in bright-coloured garments and ornaments borrowed from the women of the neighbouring villages. Between the verses sung by the actors, with many shakes and quavers, to the accompaniment of simple chords drawn on the violins, the latter perform an intermezzo. The singing is terrible, monotonous, and poor, and only the dramatic character of the play can render the monotony endurable to the spectators. It is a necessary part of the drama that the King should fall into a river, which is represented by a piece of linen stretched along the field. Into this the King falls, and the linen is then dragged along with the King upon it, to figure his being rapidly carried down the river. Then he is saved by a handsome youth who, only two hours before, has been stolen as a child by thieves. The fighting is all done by duels, each of which is carried on with mechanical regularity, so many strokes being dealt and parried, till the duel ends by a thrust in the heart. The defeated combatant falls on a piece of cloth laid behind him, and is carried off. These and many other facts connected with the Apenninian ‘May’ are related by Signor Galassini in a very readable manner.—G. Fortebiacchi in ‘Literature and Politics’ contends that

modern literature in Italy does nothing reflecting politics.—B. Bianchi writes on the alteration of the names of places in the lists of estates and landed property.—Under the title of ‘A Grand Character,’ the letters and documents of Ricasoli are reviewed.

LA RASSEGNA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE (July 13th) contains:—‘The New Constitutional Guarantees in the United States,’ by E. Coppi, noticing the corruption of legislative power.—A comparison of Montesquieu’s and Maniani’s idea of social reform with those of the International Conference in Berlin, by A. Valdarnini. (July 15th.)—‘Social Democracy in Germany,’ by R. Dalla Volta, calling attention to its European importance and great international influence.—‘The Value and Limits of Modern Education,’ by G. Marchesini. (August 1st.)—A criticism on the ‘Homestead Exemption Law,’ in reference to the political and economical needs of Italy, by J. S. Spoto. (August 15th.)—Continuation of the paper on the ‘Household Exemption Law’; and an article by V. Miceli on Professor Vann’s ‘The Problem of the Philosophy of Law.’ (Sept. 1st.)—‘The Statistics of Accidents among Workmen,’ by F. Virgilio, urging the importance of a special statistic in Italy.—‘The New Italian Penal Codex and the Juridical Society of Berlin,’ by E. Marcheroni. (Sept. 15th.)—An article referring to a new system of railway tariffs, by Dr. Cornigliana.—‘The Reichsstaat and Jurisprudence,’ by C. Tistera.—The numbers also contain political chronicles and reviews of new books.

L’ ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (year 15th, fasc. 2,) contains:—‘Historical Notes from the Register of the Aragonese Treasury,’ by N. Barone.—The continuation of the ‘Theatres of Naples, from the 15th to the 18th Century,’ with curious reproductions of old librettos.—A hitherto unpublished account of the Neapolitan revolts in 1647, as written in a letter by Count Sauli, representative of the Genoese Republic, an eye-witness of the facts. The letter contains curious details hitherto unknown.—‘The Old Vicaria of Naples’ (Palace of Justice), by B. Capasso, director of the Royal Archives.

IL GIORNALE STORICO LETTERARIO ITALIANO (year 8, fasc. 45,) contains:—‘Alphabetical Proverbs in the First Three Centuries of Italian Literature,’ by F. Novati, a good contribution to folk-lore.—‘Notes on the Works of Mario Equicola,’ by D. Santoro.—The Bibliographical Notices speak of G. Temple-Leader and G. Marcotti.

GREECE.

JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF GREECE (Vol. III., Part 9).—This number contains the first division of a study of Christian Athens by the k. Neroutsos. In it he deals with the church at Athens from S. Paul's preaching to the Frankish occupation in the thirteenth century. He corrects the statement of Babin and Leake that the Parthenon was dedicated to the Wisdom of God. It was always known as the Church of the Theometor. Interesting particulars are given of the conversion of the temple into a Christian church. Walls were built about the two middle columns of the pronaos to form a choir, square outside but apsidal within. Two smaller apses were then built flanking this. The old treasury at the back was converted into a narthex, and the interior fitted up with altar, ciborium, ambo, etc. An ancient pagan altar with all its adornments of 'ox heads, wreaths of flowers, and garlands,' was hollowed out and used as a font. An account is also given of the different bishops, archbishops, and metropolitans, and the fortunes of the see.—The k. Joannes Sakellion contributes a letter from Nicolaos Patriarch of Constantinople to the Arab Ameer of Crete. This has been already printed from another MS. in Cardinal Mai's *Spicilegium Romanum*, and reissued by the Abbé Migne. The MS. from which the present version is taken is in the library at Patmos.—An account of the monastery of the Cynegos of the Philosophers is given.—The k. Mompherratos contributes the index and introductions of the 'Episcopal Staff,' a book of reference for ecclesiastics, so-called because it 'supports and upholds him like a staff, and with it he feeds his spiritual sheep like a shepherd.'—The number concludes with a note on some archbishops of Apameia.

ATHENA.—The Journal of the Athenian Scientific Society (Vol. II., Part 1).—The k. Papajoannou in his paper on Anatomical terms collects the passages in the Greek medical writers dealing with the cervical vertebrae.—A long list of critical and explanatory notes on *Protagoras* follows.—The k. Typaldos discusses the interpretation of the passage in Plutarch's Life of Solon concerning the restitution of outlaws. He takes it to refer to those followers of Cylon who had been convicted and were fleeing from justice. He reviews all the opinions on the subject at considerable length.—After this we have philological notes by the k. Kontos and others.—In the Proceedings of the Society a number of inscriptions recently discovered in Chalcis are reported, Lotze's view on syllogisms with two negative premisses is attacked

and notes are given on a new edition of Plutarch's *Morals*. (Vol. II. part 2).—The k. Chatzidakis discusses the question of language in Greece, and advocates its natural development, rather than a mechanical adherence to ancient forms. He points out the diversity there has always been in the different dialects, and shews the influence of the standard literary form in preventing excessive change, in consequence of which the difference between ancient and modern Greek is slight in comparison with that between the Romance or Germanic languages and their early forms. Some of the more corrupt forms are mentioned, and the improbability of a general use of any of the more vulgar forms of the language is shewn to have proved impossible.—D. N. Oikonomides notices some curious grammatical forms used in Pontus.—Several critical articles follow—The k. Bases protests strongly against the proposal of the Ministry of Public Instruction to reduce the present five years Latin course in the Middle Schools, to three years elementary instruction. The k. Kontos contributes a number of critical and grammatical notes.

PARNASSOS (May and June 1890).—The k. Belliantes gives an account of the Corfian poet Gerasimos Markoras, and concludes with copious extracts from his chief poem, 'The Vow.'—M. de Cheldraïch contributes a classified list of the Flora of Mt. Parnassus.—The k. Ousae continues his translation of the articles on *Aspasia*, *Cleopatra*, and *Theodora*.—An account is given of the foundation of the first public school in Corfu in 1805.—Corfu is also the subject of an article by the k. Boulgaris, who reprints letters by John Bulgaris protopappas of Corfu appealing for help for the refugees from Greece in 1738-46.—The k. Polyta gives a new translation of *Iliad VII.*—In a paper entitled, 'Three Dragon Pools on Pindus' the k. Krystalles relates some of the popular legends about the three lakes on the summits of Mt. Pindus.

FRANCE.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (July, August, September).—If the 19th century had not already received an abundance of titles it might with considerable truth be styled the age of 'unifications.' It began with the unification of weights and measures by means of the metric or decimal system; later, the Latin Union took a first step towards the unification of currency; quite recently, an attempt has been made at the unification of longitudes, and now there has arisen the question of the unification of altitudes by the adoption of one single level for European hypsometry. To the last of these schemes M. Ch.

Lallemand devotes an important paper, of which the conclusion is that the establishment of one uniform 'level of the sea,' is practically impossible.—In the same number—the first—M. Trouessart has a detailed analysis of M. Florentino Ameghino's work on the fossil Mammalia of the Argentine Republic.—This is followed by a very remarkable paper in which a writer signing 'Stephanos' considers numbers and courage in modern warfare. After setting down a number of algebraical formulæ, and going through some very abstruse calculations, he arrives at the conclusion that 'two armies are equal when the product of their mechanical co-efficient by their courage and by the square of their *effectif* is the same.'—An important and interesting paper to be found in the second number is M. de Quatrefages's exposition of Owen and Mivart's theories of transformism.—The glaciers of the Arctic regions and the geological influence exercised by them are made the subject of a paper by M. Ch. Rabot, and under the same general title of 'Physique du globe,' there are two further contributions, one on the study of lakes, the other descriptive of a scientific ascent of Mount Blanc.—Grouping together the several articles connected with the history of the sciences we have, in the first place 'Les interférences électriques et la doctrine de M. G-A. Hirn,' a paper which appeals exclusively to specialists; then—in No. 8—M. de Quatrefages again appears with an exposition of Russel Wallace's theory of the origin of man; passing on to the next number we find a dissertation by Dr. Rochard on the influence of the exact sciences on the progress of medicine and hygiene; finally, in the eleventh number, attention is drawn to the essays of Jean Rey, a scientist of the first half of the 17th century.—A paper of very special interest is that in which M. Petit explains the scheme proposed by M. Bunan-Varilla as a substitute for that of the Channel tunnel. To state it in a few words, it consists of a tunnel extending not from shore to shore, but terminating at a certain distance from each—from a mile to a mile and a half, according as each government might decide—a viaduct being built for the remaining distance and connected with the tunnel by elevators. Under the same rubric of 'Travaux publics' M. Bellet gives a description of the new harbour in course of construction at La Pallice, near La Rochelle.—Hygiene claims two contributions, both of interest and importance. In the former of them the adulteration of food is gone into with considerable minuteness by M. Ponchet; in the later M. Demyen pleads for systematic physical training for children, as against the freer method of out-door sports favoured amongst ourselves.—Societies for the

protection of animals we all are acquainted with, but it is very probable that, on the contrary, but few are aware of the fact that in Geneva there exists, and has existed for some seven years, a society for the protection of plants. It is this society—the reasons which led to its formation, and the work which it has done—that M. de Varigny deals with in his paper ‘*La protection des plantes.*’ There are other two contributions to the botanical section, both, however, essentially technical, being in fact theses, ‘*Les feuilles persistantes des dicotylédones,*’ and ‘*Morphologie des feuilles conifères.*’—In number 5, M. Petit gives an account, with illustrations, of the various plans submitted for the erection of a tower to beat the Eiffel Monument. Amongst them we notice one of a tower on wheels!—We may further mention, as being of general interest, a biographical sketch of Gay-Lussac, an account of the cultivation of pepper, and what may be called a history of the Niger, that is of the various theories to which it has given rise.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (July, August, September).—In the two numbers for July though there is much that is readable there is nothing, if we except the conclusion of M. Renan’s study of the reign of King Ezechias, that can be pointed out as specially important. Somewhat strangely, perhaps, Japan figures rather conspicuously, having two articles devoted to it. One of these, bearing the signature of M. T. de Wyzewa, deals with Japanese painting, which, it is rather interesting to note, he considers to have gained nothing by contact with Europe; the other is a description, by M. Louis Bastide, of a Japanese watering place.—The agricultural crisis in the United States is the subject of a study by the Count E. de Keratry, whilst M. Gaston Boissier, besides giving an account of the festivities by which the sixth centenary of its University was recently celebrated at Montpellier, also sketches the history of the University itself from its foundation in 1289.—In an article of some importance which he entitles, ‘*L’Organisation Morale et Sociale de l’Enseignement,*’ M. Alfred Fouillée argues that, without philosophy, mathematical and physical studies can have nothing more than a commercial and marketable value.—In continuation of the series of sketches which he entitles, ‘*Curiosités Historiques et Littéraires,*’ and after having already given a very vivid and interesting picture of the Duchess of Newcastle, M. Montégut devotes more than two score pages to her husband and to her life of him.—An article, which may be pointed out for special attention, is that which M. Emile Faguet devotes to an estimate of M. Guizot’s character, of which they key-note may be found in the maxim, ‘*moderate measures applied by*

energetic men.'—Very readable and instructive, too, is M. Gabriel Hanotaux's historical sketch of the condition of France in 1614. As a sequel to it the first of the next month's number contains a description of Paris about the same period.—Continuing a series of studies of the 17th century, M. Ferdinand Brunetière considers Molière as a philosopher, or, at least, points out that besides being 'un bouffon de génie,' he was a thinker as well.—As a second instalment of what he calls 'Historical Landscapes of France'—*Paysages historiques de France*—M. Edouard Schuré contributes a most interesting and, from a literary point of view, brilliant sketch of Mont-Saint-Michel.—In the same number—that dated August 1st—the other articles are, 'La tactique de Marche d'une Armée Navale,' 'Le Culte de Jeanne d'Arc,' and 'La dernière Crise du Crédit foncier.'—As a sequel to the paper of which we have already made mention, M. Fouillée brings another on 'Classic humanities.' Its more immediate object is to show that the choice of subjects should be based on national, and not on human evolution merely.—The 'grande ville anglaise,' of which M. Julien Decrais writes in the paper to which he gives that title, is Liverpool; in point of fact, however, he has more to say about unions and strikes than about the city itself.—Besides the contributions, the table of contents shows, 'La Prusse après Tilsit,' 'Un client de l'Ancien régime,' and 'Les Hopitaux Marins.'—September brings quite an abundance of literary essays. The first, and in some respects the most important of them, is an analysis of Pascal's 'Provinciales,' by M. Bertrand. The next, bearing the signature of Count d'Haussonville deals with La Rochefoucauld and the Maxims. In the third, M. Levy-Bruhl takes the early German romanticists for his subject. Last, but for English readers by no means least, M. Paul Stapfer has a paper on Fielding.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (July, August, September).—The first of these three numbers opens with an article by M. G. Fonsegrive, on 'Moral Homogeneity.' Starting from the assumption that the psychological basis of our nature is essentially heterogeneous and contradictory, he sets himself the task of discovering under what conditions this heterogeneity can be replaced by the homogeneity which moralists set up as the standard of our actions. For this purpose he, in the first place reduces the various elements which constitute our personality to a small number of systems or groups, which he finds to be respectively, sensitive, sentimental, and moral, and he then considers which of these should 'serve as a centre to all the others, and thus allow of the constitution of a really

homogeneous personality.'—In the same number M. H. Joly treats of the question of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's madness. That he was insane towards the close of his life is generally admitted, but several writers, and amongst them M. Brunetière have gone further, and expressed the opinion that he really was mad during the whole of his life, and endeavour to reconcile this with the production of his master-pieces, by the explanation that his insanity and his genius so worked together that the latter adorned the extravagant dreams of the former. M. Joly's paper is a refutation of this rather wild theory.—In a study running through the August and September parts, M. Espinas considers the origin of technology, that is of the useful as distinct from the fine arts.—M. Binet contributes a paper which he entitles 'Inhibition in the Phenomena of Consciousness,' and in which the result arrived at is, that under a great number of circumstances certain images and sensations cannot co-exist with others in the same field of consciousness, that in spite of all our efforts we cannot get a simultaneous perception of them, and that the presence of one excludes the other.—In the September number a very long sketch of the Spanish philosopher Huarte leaves room only for the conclusion of the study already referred to—'Les origines de la Technologie,' and for some remarks on the principle of causality, by M. A. Lalande.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (Avril-Juin, 1890)—M. Isidore Loeb in a recent study (*Revue*, Juillet-Septembre, 1889) on the *Shemoneh-Esreh*, brought into prominence those features or characteristics of them which showed their affinity to the Biblical writings, where the 'Poor,' the 'Just,' the 'Holy,' play such a prominent part. Professor Graetz, in his *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen*, was the first to call attention to the rôle which the Poor, the Anawim, or the Just, the Tsaddikim, etc., play in the literature of Israel. He attributed to them all the Psalms. He identified them with the Levites,—not that all the Levites were Anawim, but that all the Anawim were Levites. They were Levites of a strictly religious and even ascetic type. They were monotheists, and were vowed to poverty. M. Loeb regards them in very much the same light, though he does not make them out to be Levites alone. He regards the Psalms, also, as their composition, but does not allow, as M. Graetz does, that some of the Psalms are pre-exile. M. Loeb maintains that not a single psalm is pre-exile, and that the Anawim, or as he writes the word Aniyyim, date as a distinct order, or as distinct orders, only from the Exile. He proceeds in this number of the *Revue*

—‘La littérature des Pauvres dans la Bible’—to subject that literature to a minute, we might almost say, exhaustive, examination, so as to elicit what, or who, these ‘Poor,’ ‘Just,’ etc., were, and what was their actual condition, the hopes they cherished, and the influence they exercised on the life and on the literature of the Jews. They stand in that literature always in opposition to the ‘wicked,’ or to the ‘nations,’ the Goyim, and M. Loeb brings out here too how these latter appear, or are represented in Scripture, particularly in the Psalms. His article is not finished in this number, and its continuation will be looked for with interest by all Biblical students.—M. J. Halévy returns to the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and, after a warning word against some of Professor Sayce’s conclusions, proceeds to show what light these tablets throw on the geography of Palestine. His paper also is to be continued, and to deal with other points besides geography.—M. L. Duchesne sets himself to prove, against M. J. Halévy, that those who massacred the Christians in Yemen in the days of the Emperor Justin, were Jews, as had generally been believed until M. Halévy’s late effort to make them out to be Christians.—M. J. Derenbourg continues the ‘Gloses d’Abou Zakariya ben Bilam sur Isaïe,’ carrying the work down to the close of chap. xxiii.—The other important articles, or notes, are, ‘La police de l’inquisition d’Espagne à ses débuts,’ by Professor Graetz; ‘Inscriptions hébraïques à Issoudun et à Senneville,’ by M. Moïse Schwab; ‘Les heebraïsants Chrétiens du XVII^{me} siècle,’ by M. Kayserling. Under ‘Actes et Conférences’ we have a very interesting lecture delivered before the *Société des Etudes Juives* in May last, by M. Salomon Reinach, on Titus’ Arch, with an illustration. It gives a description of the triumphal entry into Rome of Vespasian and Titus and of the arch that commemorated the victory of Titus over Jerusalem.

REVUE DE L’HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1890).—M. E. Amelineau, having in his previous paper—‘Les Traités gnostique d’Oxford’—described and given a summary of the contents of the Bruce Papyrus, as preserved in Woide’s copy, devotes a long article here to the second of the two ‘Gnostic’ treatises in the Bodleian Library to which he there referred. It is the ‘Discourse on the Mysteries hidden in the Letters of the Alphabet.’ He first gives a *resumé* of what is known—and that is not much—of the history of the MS. Its real author, he shows, was not Atasis, but Seba, or rather Saba, and he points out how the error as to its authorship arose. He does not regard it as an original work, but a Coptic translation of a work which was written originally in Greek by a Syrian monk,

and he gives very satisfactory reasons for his opinion. The alphabetic letters in question are those of the Greek Alphabet, and the author of the discourse held that these were originally traced by God Himself, and were much older than the Hellenes; and were hidden by God in the earth and discovered by Cadmus. The mysteries contained in them, however, were revealed only to Saba himself, and he proceeds to make them known. M. Amelineau gives a summary of these 'mysteries,' and examines the whole discourse minutely to determine whether in reality it is, as has been all along assumed, a Gnostic work. He shows that there is not a single characteristic in it of any Gnostic system with which we are acquainted. There is neither aeon nor emanation hinted at by Saba, and the origin of evil, the problem that chiefly exercised the Gnostics, never once is mentioned. M. Amelineau concludes that it is not a Gnostic Treatise at all, but was written by a Christian monk not earlier than the middle of the sixth century.—M. J. Goldziher—'Le Rosaire en Islam'—traces the use of the rosary among the Mohammedans to its beginnings among the lower orders some two or three hundred years after the Hegira. He shows with what suspicion, and even aversion, it was looked upon for long by the faithful Sunnites.—M. G. Regnaud notices two recent works on the Vedas.—M. Levi's 'Abel Bergaigne et l'indianisme,' and Herrn Pischel and Gedner's 'Vedische Studien.'—M. A. Strong gives an outline of Professor W. Robertson Smith's Burnet Lectures on the 'Religion of the Semites,' but contents himself with a summary of them, and does not adventure any criticism worthy of note.

REVUE CELTIQUE (No. 3, 1890).—In the first article M. d'Arbois de Jubainville interprets and discusses a series of five Gallic inscriptions printed by M. Hirschfeld in the twelfth volume of his 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinae.'—The rest of the number is for the most part taken up with a couple of continuations. The first of these is the continuation of M. l'Abbé Bernard's text, and translation of the old Breton mystery on the creation of the world, which is brought down to the end of the first day. In the second M. Nettleau completes his elaborate notes on the Fer Diad Episode of the *Tain Bo Cuailnge*.—The 'Mélanges' contains notes by W. R. Mowat on the Celto-British inscription discovered at Chesterholm, the ancient Vindolana, last autumn, and by M. Loth on the 'Rapprochement entre l'épopée irlandaise et les traditions galloises.'—The 'Bibliographie' reviews the first part—all published—of M. Loth's *Chrestomathie bretonne*. The review

is from the hand of M. E. Ernault.—The ‘*Chronique*’ is as usual full of information respecting publications and events of interest to the student of Celtic literature. Among other things we have a note on the first of Professor Rhys’ Rhind Lectures, and a list of the Lives of the Saints in the recently published *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi*.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1890).—This number has but two articles, the largest part of it being taken up by a more than usually elaborate and comprehensive ‘*Chronique*’ and ‘*Bibliographie*.’ The first place is given to M. l’Abbé de Desgodins, who continues his account of Buddhism in Tibet. Here he deals with the moral code of Buddhism in general—the law it lays down for the observance of all who profess it, and the special laws which must be observed, or should be observed, by those who hold office as monks, or are in any way connected with or officiate in the Buddhist temples and sanctuaries. He enumerates the laws of the Buddhist ‘*decalogue*,’ and compares them with those of the Jewish, and endeavours to show that the former occupies a filial relation to the latter. He passes then to Tibet, and places the moral conduct of the Buddhists there, and especially of the Lamas, and ‘*Religieux*,’ as M. Desgodins calls them, in contrast to the written law, and shows how little attention either priests or people pay to the latter.—M. Yves de la Calmontie devotes a short paper to the doctrines and history of the Bogomili. He does not add much to what Mosheim, Neander, and Geiseler tell us of them, but he traces the name by which they distinguished themselves, not as Mosheim to the Mysian word for mercy, but to a leader of the sect in the tenth century, Jeremiah Bogomil.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1890).—M. l’Abbé de Moor opens this number with a continuation of his criticism of M. Maurice Vernes’ recent contributions to the reconstruction of the history of the Old Testament Scriptures. He examines M. Vernes’ opinions as to the more ancient parts of Biblical story, the Book of Judges and the ‘*Blessing*’ of Jacob, and then his opinions as to the origin and character of the prophetic writings, and endeavours to show how untenable they are.—M. Castomet des Fosses follows up a former paper on the ‘*Origin of the Mexican Races*,’ with another descriptive of the rise of the Aztec power, and the political and social condition of the Mexican States prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. In a future paper he proposes to treat of the religious opinions, rites, and customs of these States, or races.—M. l’Abbé

Vigouroux', 'De la Mythomania' is directed against M. J. Goldziher, M. Decharme, and others, who have attempted to resolve the heroes and patriarchs of Biblical story into mythical personifications of solar phenomena. That their 'arguments' have a certain amount of plausibility M. Vigouroux admits, but he can only compare them to the humorous 'demonstrations,' which delighted the public some years ago, that Napoleon and Max Müller had never been real persons, but were stellar myths.—The 'Chronique,' as usual, is very elaborate, and the reviews of books in the various departments of religious history, criticism, and folklore, are numerous, and embrace the most important publications of this country, as well as of France and Germany.

L'ART (July, August, September).—To the first of these six numbers, the only literary contributor, besides a further instalment of the descriptive sketch of the 'Salon,' is a short but interesting biography of Butin—the Millet of sailors, as he has been called.—There is, however, an etching by M. H. Martin, which is particularly deserving of notice, 'La vache échappée.'—The second number for July has, in addition to another 'Salon' article, and to the conclusion of M. Paul Leroi's account of the works of painting, sculpture, and engraving exhibited at the Champ de Mars, a very interesting paper on a remarkable painting preserved in the Museum of Villeneuve, near Avignon. It is of so encyclopedic a character that it has been variously called, The Last Judgment, The Holy Trinity, The Coronation of the Virgin, The Holy City and the Divine Comedy. It was originally classed as the work of King René, then of Van Eyck, then again of Van der Meire, but the object of the present paper is to show that it is really the work of a certain Euguerrand Charanton.—The numbers for August actually go back to last year's Exhibition, and give two articles to the old European armour to which a section was devoted.—More generally interesting is the paper, begun in the first of these two parts and concluded in that dated September 1st, which M. Emile Michel entitles 'Les Dessins de Rembrandt,' and in which he gives a description, helped by numerous fac-similes, of a number of original drawings by the great master, many of them taken from the Duke of Devonshire's collection, at Chatsworth.—M. Emile Molinier contributes an interesting sketch of Peter Floetner, a wood engraver of the beginning of the 16th century, who played an honourable part in the German Renaissance.—A further instalment of M. Meret's descriptive sketch of the Cathedral of Orvieto, and the conclusion of M. Patoux's notice of Butin, are the only contributions to the last of the September parts.

LA REVUE MENSUELLE DU MONDE LATIN (July, August, September).—The numbers for the quarter just closed contain more than an average proportion of political studies. Of these the majority is historical rather than actual, which, perhaps, all things considered, is a relief. M. Francis de Pressensé's review of the Anglo-German agreement in regard to Africa and Heligoland, for example, is not likely to attract readers surfeited with the voluminous utterances of our own Parliamentary and editorial experts on the subject.—A subject on which less is known in this country, and which nevertheless is important enough to challenge serious attention, is ably treated by M. Ch. Waterman in his paper on Dr. Windthorst and the German Catholic Centre. Windthorst himself, it appears, is personally the living image of Thiers, a sharp-eyed, be-spectacled, eloquent, little man—his 'little Excellency' his admiring countrymen name him—in his 78th year.—Among the historico-political articles which may be noted as worthy of perusal are, 'La Savoie Neutralisable'; 'la Question Hollandaise à la fin du siècle dernier'—an elaborate study running through several issues; and an account of the condition of the Italian army.—The relations of the great Napoleon with Alexander I. of Russia after the peace of Tilsit, is a page of pure history which cannot fail to be read with enjoyment.—Associated with contemporary political events is the interesting sketch of le Vicomte de Gontaut-Biron—Thiers' happy selection of an ambassador to the Court of Berlin shortly after the Franco-Prussian War.—More attractive than any of these papers, however, because more remote from the beaten track, is the account of the extraordinary religious dancing procession at Echternach in Whitsun week. The festival of the 'dancing saints' appears to be distinctly traceable as far back as 1512, and probably owes its observance to the terrors of the Black Plague in 1347, if, indeed, it be not an inheritance from a still more remote period of popular superstition. In the month of May of the current year the number of pilgrims to Echternach was no less than 18,000, of whom 15,000 took part in the strange processional dance through the streets, with music and banners, to the parish church, while 3000 spectators looked on.—Scarcely less curious and suggestive is the sketch of the latest adherents of the 13th century sect of Bégards or Béguines, in the Department of the Loire.—Amongst the other noteworthy contributions to these numbers is the excellent review of contemporary Spanish literature by M. Horatius; and a protectionist article on the agricultural situation in France, by M. le Comte de Foulza.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (July, August, September).—Were it not that so much has recently been written about Ibsen, M. Léo Quesnel's critico-biographical sketch would challenge special attention. Even as it is, indeed, the article will repay perusal by the clearness of its thought and the grace of its expression.—M. Gustave Attiger presents us with a curiously novel account of another poet, a fiery lyrist, the first singer, so far as history knows, who gave expression to the sentiment that it is beautiful to die for one's fatherland—no other than the familiar and semi-mythical Tyrtaeus. The poet, it would appear, belonged to Miletus, and was by no means a decrepit schoolmaster of Athens. One of the most striking features of the essay is the justice rendered to Sparta as the leading influence of the musical and literary movement in Greece at a period long before Athens rose to pre-eminence.—Yet another personal and literary paper—an instalment of M. E. de Budé's study of Guillaume Budé, the brilliant French humanist of the 16th century, the friend of Erasmus, possibly more easily recognised amongst ourselves as 'the great Budæus,' the praises of whose literary wife are sung by the elder Disraeli in his 'Curiosities.'—Matters geographical receive in these pages no small amount of attention; witness the articles 'New Guinea,' 'Stanley in Darkest Africa,' 'Siberia,' according to the *Century* experiences of Mr. George Kennan, and 'Canada and its Future'—said future being probable enrolment in the Union under the stars and stripes, where 'it is certain to find commercial prosperity and political peace.'—Amongst the miscellaneous contributions there is excellent reading on such a variety of matters, as 'Fairs,' 'Recent Types of Iron Roads,' 'Tinned and Canned Provisions,' and perhaps most interesting of all, 'Private Hygiene,' a paper in which M. Quesnel, whom we have already mentioned, discourses on fresh air, pure water, building sites, tight lacing, high heels, the abuse of stimulants, and a snooze after dinner—in which last detail he thinks we do well to imitate the recumbent cow with the crumpled horn.—There is abundant fiction.—M. Combe's 'l'Étincelle,' M. Jean Menos's 'le Joueur de Zither,' and Miss Rose Terry Cooke's 'la Leçon d'Anne Potter'—while the various 'Chroniques' furnish reading which is quite as light and which has the advantage of being fact.—We have reserved for distinct reference an admirable article by M. Ernest Naville '—Les Conclusions de la Psychologie'—in which he gathers that as the brain of the savage seems prepared in advance for the civilization of a

more or less remote future, so the three great functions of human reason, sensibility, and conscience, point to a life beyond the present, wherein they shall have full play.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA: REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANO (June, 1890).—‘The Spanish Woman,’ No. 2, by Emilia Pardo Bazan deals with the Aristocracy. She acknowledges that a great change has come over them, but holds they are still of a very high type, and full of grace and beauty. She also claims that they are not as a body such as the rude public declares, but living lives of duty, and charity, and usefulness, in numerous cases. They have latterly become of the ‘Rubens type,’ or at least affect to be so, and colour themselves accordingly.—Canovas del Castillo finishes his careful study of ‘Democracy in Europe and America.’ He points out the numerous evils attending the practical realisation of republics, and shows that they never are republics proper. These are based on the adhesion of all, yet they are governed by parties, and women are not considered; while they live, and are obliged to live, as so markedly in France, by force. He seems to look to the strong German Empire to progress steadily, and show how more and more of the people can be admitted to a share of power.—‘Fictional-Programme’ deals with the social problems that have come to the surface in ‘Looking Backward,’ the *Vade mecum* of the ‘Nationalist Party’ in America. Juan Valera uses this work, and its phenomenal success, to allude to the poverty of the Spanish press and Spanish authors, the prominence of French literature in Spain over the native, and the absence of English to the extent that he was probably the only Spaniard who had read this work! The optimism and enthusiasm of Bellamy surprises him, at a time that all Europe is full of pessimism and anxiety.—‘Political Orators’ is a criticism of a work by Moya, to which A. Palacio Valdés objects, on account of the tone of admiration for his subjects that Moya affects. He declares he knows the men, who are of mediocre intelligence, and less than medium culture, fighting not for the good of their country, but to satisfy their own pride and sensuality. He complains that, while in the United States these politicals are little appreciated in Society; while in France a poet or inventor receives more regard than a political charlatan; in Spain a man who speaks for hours dispensing ‘The Vulgarities of the National Repertory,’ is approved beyond all others.—‘Ancient Papers,’ gives an old deed to prove that the name *Gutierrez* is entitled to be considered

an *Hijodalgo*, or 'son of somebody.' It shows that this 'vulgar' Spanish name is the Biscayan attempt at Godos or Goths, the proudest and most regarded blood in Spain.—The last instalment of 'The Modern Antichrist' (Renan) is given here.—Rafael M. Merchán has a valuable paper on Cuba, 'The Cuban Thicket and the Barrantine Axe.' He claims that although Spanish they are treated as if enemies, that only by insurrection have they obtained anything, and compares the state of the English colonies and their liberal treatment with those of Spain.—'The Social Question,' the elevation of the working classes mainly, is looked upon by Blas Cobeño as nothing new, but merely the old struggle towards perfection—the regaining of paradise. He gives the programme of Karl Marx in full, and discusses it sympathetically.—Two volumes on Costa Rica are reviewed, and other foreign works, such as a 'Sketch of Velasquez' by Theophil Gautier.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA: REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (July, 1899).—In the foreign portion, as usual, France reigns supreme, but there is also a translation of Professor Kock's address on 'Infection.' Besides tales by Daudet and Flaubert, and Saint-Beuve on Madame de Sevigne, there is an article on 'Literature and Gymnasia,' by Zola, which is suggestive.—'The Spanish Woman' of this month deals with the women of the middle class, who has little home life, nor mental sympathy with educated men, who never spend their time at home, and no means of 'diversion' except to go to every possible spectacle and spend much of their time in the open-air. A 'pair'—lady and gentleman—are rarely seen together in Spain. Emilia Pardo Bazán claims for these fair countrywomen a 'fair' virtue, although they are more apt to go astray than the ladies of the higher classes.—'Metaphysics and Poetry before Modern Science,' is a most interesting continuation of a polemical discussion on the value of these 'old world' arts.—'The Dutch in America,' gives an account of the first circumnavigation of these bold mariners in 1598-1601, with the hopeful courage bred of their new found liberty. Van Noost does not seem to have made much of his daring voyage, as he carried little home, and lost one of his vessels in fighting the Spaniards in the Filipines. 'Japanese Art' is a well-written and appreciative article. We cannot agree with the writer that this art was almost unknown in Europe until the French Exhibition of 1867; as long prior to that date, it was becoming fashionable even in middle class houses in this country. But a proper appreciation of the 'first decorators in the world' has, no doubt, been of recent and rapid growth. 'But the

glorious development of Japanese painting ended with the Revolution of 1868; the art of to-day is a hybrid one, that is only pre-occupied with the requirements of exportation. The Japanese are being civilized, enter into the European current, avail themselves of great modern inventions, and are even exchanging their artistic and elegant garb for what the costumiers of London and Paris offer them. Still, they have sufficient spirit left to laugh at us.—‘The Agriculture of Ancient Rome’ recalls the attention to, and knowledge of, agriculture of the Romans, afterwards lost or neglected during the wars of the Middle Ages. We have fuller treatises in English, such as that of Scot-Skirving.—‘The Economic Question’ reviews a work of this title by E. Sanz y Escartin, dealing with past social problems. J. Piernas Hurtado protests against the resignation and charity demanded by religion as *solving* any economic question.—‘A Winter Poem’ is a graceful snow-drift from the Andes, by Rubén Darío, entitled *Invernal*.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA: REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (August, 1890).—Under the foreign section there are two papers from the French: a sketch of ‘Spain’ by Mrs. Cunningham-Graham, as delivered at the Tyneside Theatre in March last; and a study of the poet ‘Estébanez.’—‘The Social Question and the Armed Peace,’ is an able reply to Castelar. Concepcion Arenal shows how no government can cure a social evil or solve a social question, and instances *mendicancy* as a proof of this. ‘The social problem consists of all that cannot be solved without the direct and effective aid of Society.’ No single panacea is to be found for our social evils, for, ‘this traveller that marches towards perfection and is called Humanity, has a severe condition annexed, and one that cannot be eluded, and that is, that while he is travelling, he must also make the roads.’ ‘We must thoroughly grasp the fact that the social question is in the workshop and the mine, in the shop and the school, in the institution and the University, in Charitable Homes, and on the high road, in public amusements, in the churches, in the palaces, where they make and sanction laws, in the prisons, where go, or ought to go, those who infringe them,—everywhere.’—‘The Spanish Woman’ here deals with the woman of the people, who, more than any other sex or class, preserves tradition. The different provinces provide a dozen types. The workwoman of Barcelona has become civilized and commonplace; the *Chula* of Madrid remains interesting, picturesque, and witty.—The discussion on metaphysics and poetry and modern science is well handled by Campoamor.—‘The Dutch in America’ is an account of the expedition of

Admiral Cordis to the Pacific in 1600.—‘Metrical Versification’ is an interesting account of the present state of Spanish poetic technique as compared with Rengifo’s work of three centuries ago, on the ‘Art of Spanish Poetry.’—The letter to Juan Valera on American subjects, discusses the aborigines and the civilization they had reached up to the Spanish Conquest. J. León Mera quotes history to show that the Incas had as a fundamental maxim of government to enforce the happiness of their subjects, and that ‘the Peruvian empire was the only one on earth that had reached such a worthy goal of humanity.’ He also speaks of their language, the *Quichua*, as rich, varied, and beautiful.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA: REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (September, 1890).—The foreign portion supplies ‘the Jew’ of Tourguenieff; a tale by De Banville; ‘Alfonse Daudet,’ by Zola; ‘Ideas and Sentiments,’ by E. and J. Goncourt,—typically French; and an account of the Prison Congress in St. Petersburg, where they have anticipated the decisions of the Italians, *and only require to apply them!* A keen Spanish thrust!—‘The Social Question’ continues to be treated ably by Concepcion Arenal, who shrewdly remarks, that while England idolises the rights of the individual, she occasionally tramples upon them as they would not do on the continent; and has measured the capabilities of Socialism, as the German States have not done, or probably thought of doing.—‘The Aesthetics of Character,’ by A. Palacio Valdes, is a well-considered study.—Mera’s letter on American subjects is most interesting and informing, and, while acknowledging the weakness of American pre-conquest civilization, he compares it most favourably with those of Asia or early Europe. He recalls the fact that Paul III. had to issue a bull to the conquerors to inform them that the American Indians were human beings!—‘Spanish Versification’ is continued, with modern instances.—‘Spain beyond-sea’ deals mainly with the more serious questions affecting the Philippines and Cuba.—‘Friar Juan Perez and Friar Antonio de Marchena,’ gives an account of the relations of two Friars with Columbus; to them he owed much of his success.—The fourth centenary of the discovery of America is about to be celebrated, and an official notice of the Commission announces that a sculptured monument is to be erected in Granada in memory of 1492, combining the conquest of Granada and the discovery of America. The competition seems only open to Spanish artists; the cost not to exceed £10,000. A similar sum is to be spent on a triumphal arch at Barcelona. The partial destruction of the Alhambra Palace at Granada comes most inopportunately.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (July, August, September).—Multatuli's Letters are reviewed, describing the poverty and anxiety in which his novel, 'Max Havelaar,' was written, and extracts are given to show that his domestic life was not so black as it has been painted.—The Homeric question is discussed by Polak in two articles, 'Epic Speculations.' He considers the religion a survival of Oriental supernaturalism combined with western humanitarianism, and attributes the surviving charm of Homer to his power of depicting 'normal' humanity, men just as nature produces them, without ideals which are always changing, but to do this has required both consummate art and genius.—Pierson gives a paper, 'Conversations' on philosophical subjects.—'From Beowulf,' is a sketch with translations of part of the A. S. Epic by Uhlenbeck.—'The Hamlet Question,' by Kok, is a protest against the theory which represents Hamlet as weak-willed and wavering.—'Intellectual Epicureanism' is a clever paper on Pater's 'Appreciations,' and 'Marius the Epicurean.' 'Robert Elsmere' is also appreciatively discussed.—In Van Manen's paper on the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan, while he regards the authenticity as thoroughly disproved, he allows its value as a contribution to our knowledge of Christian life in the second century in Asia Minor. The evidence is fully discussed.—In the September number Van Hall reviews the dramatic works of Emile Augier, comparing them with those of Dumas and Sardou, to which they are superior in moral earnestness, in simplicity, and are less cynical.—Fockena Andreae writes on ancient France with reference to the works of Fustel de Coulanges.—'Our Christian Names' is a curious and interesting paper on the origin and history of Dutch prenomens, their degeneration and metamorphoses.—In 'Cause and Effect,' Heyman's sketch of the critical history of the idea of causality in modern philosophy is made the basis of an able thesis.—'Too Late' is a coarse dramatic sketch of Dutch social life, which may be true to life but is devoid of literary merit.—In sequence to former articles Holwerda handles Netherland philology of the 19th century from Wyttenbach to Cobet. The former who wrote in excellent Latin was bitterly opposed to Kant, and supported traditional views. His pupil, Van Heusde, author of 'The Socratic School of Philosophy for the 19th century,' was less narrow, more eclectic and popular. Another pupil, Brower, more rationalistic, left little mark on his time.—After 1830, German influence and the spirit of the time made their effects felt, and a new era dawned, represented by such men as Mulder and Donders, Dozy and Cobet, the last essentially a critic.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—The July and September numbers contain a study by Dr. Oort of the book of Hosea, which the scholar will in future have to keep in mind. The conclusion to which his investigations lead him is as follows: ‘the book of Hosea as we have it, was written under the reign of Josiah, with the view of causing the North-Israelites to acknowledge his rule, and to reform their worship in the spirit of Deuteronomy. The writer borrowed by far the greater part of the materials from a collection of oracles by Hosea, the son of Beerī, which he supposed to have been written or spoken under Jeroboam II., but which were in fact composed some years later, in the reign of Menahem, and after that king had paid the heavy tribute laid upon him by Tiglath-Pileser in 738 B.C. The title and the Israel passages, such as iii, 5, viii. 8-10, with some others, are by the Editor, who also changed Bethel into Bethaven at x. 5.’ Dr. Oort holds that Hosea’s narrative of his marriage is not allegorical but real, and that the third chapter refers to the same occurrence as the first.—The September number has a critique of a new handbook of religious instruction, by a follower of the more advanced school of New Testament studies. Here is the writer’s instruction for Dutch children about the facts underlying the Gospels: ‘All that can be said to be historically certain is that there lived among the Jews of the past days, a commanding religious personality, to the partial narrative of whose life various spirits felt themselves drawn to contribute.’ The new school has certainly got into very shallow water.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

ΠΡΟΣ ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ: *The Epistle to the Hebrews with Notes.* By C. J. VAUGHAN, DD., Dean of Llandaff, &c. London and New York, Macmillan & Co. 1890.

In the English language commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews, were until quite recently somewhat scarce. Not that a number have not been written, but those which have been written, have for the most part, like many other theological books, fallen out of notice and been forgotten. Recent years have seen a change. Last year Dr. Westcott's commentary appeared, which, though not so full and complete as might be desired, is nevertheless exceedingly valuable. In fact including the present volume, no fewer than four commentaries on the Epistle have appeared within the last seven years, and the remarkable fact which Dr. Vaughan here points out, is that they have been written by four ex-Fellows of the same College who were all some thirty years ago Masters in one great school. Whatever may have been the cause of this, it may safely be said that the Epistle has seldom been touched by more reverent hands or examined with greater acumen and scholarship. The text adopted by Dr. Vaughan is that of Westcott and Hort, which is gradually winning its way to general acceptance. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, however, there are scarcely more than two or three passages involving any textual question of serious importance. But as in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, originally published more than thirty years ago, though largely and avowedly indebted to Delitzsch, Dr. Vaughan has claimed the position of an independent suggester. Anything in the shape of an 'Introduction,' except a few paragraphs in the preface in which an attempt is made to show that the Epistle is not of Pauline origin, is wanting. The Notes are of the old fashioned type, the author having withstood the demand for a bolder, more philosophical or more startling mode of treatment, and confined himself to the examination of the words of the text, to ascertaining their precise meaning and to their illustration from other parts of the Greek Scriptures. To the student desirous of acquiring an exact knowledge of the meaning of the words of the inspired writer, the notes cannot fail to be of the greatest service. Perhaps the least satisfactory notes are those on chapter xi. 1, and some fault may be found with the definition of faith 'as that quality or faculty of the mind which convinces us of, which enables us to accept, to grasp, to realize, the invisible.' But generally speaking, Dr. Vaughan's definitions are as exact as they are lucid, and notwithstanding the demand for broader and more sensational treatment, most students will be grateful that much space has been given to the citation of illustrative passages.

Gideon and the Judges. A Study, Practical and Historical.
By the Rev. JOHN MARSHALL LANG, D.D. London:
Nisbet & Co.

St. Paul: His Life and Times. By JAMES IVERACH, M.A.
Same Publishers.

These books are by very different authors. One is by a professor of theology, and the other by a popular preacher, and the style and mode of

treatment are correspondingly different. Mr. Iverach's book has much of the character of an academical essay, while Dr. Marshall Lang's volume is evidently made up of a series of popular discourses. Both works, however, have manifestly been written with care, and each author has availed himself of the use of such authorities as he most favoured. There is nothing new about either of them. Of the two, that which we have placed first will probably meet with the greater favour. It is picturesque and forcible. Dr. Lang is a great reader and a greater user of poetry, and seems almost to place Milton's 'Samson Agonistes' on a level with the Bible as an authority for the life of 'this Israelite Hercules.' There is a certain freshness about the practical part of his discourses, and no opportunity is missed of pressing home to the reader the lessons which the biographies he has to deal with suggest. Professor Iverach's work is less picturesque, and he frequently handles his subject as if he were afraid to touch it. But, as most are aware, St. Paul's life is a difficult subject to handle, and bristles with points of controversy. For the most part, Mr. Iverach has either avoided or contented himself with simply referring to them. Here and there he seems to assume a slight tone of superiority over other writers who have dealt with his subject, and the phrase 'must have been' occurs so often as to be wearisome. On several points, if it were requisite, we should take the liberty of differing from Mr. Iverach's deliverances. His estimate of Gamaliel, for instance, does not seem to us to be altogether correct, nor do we think that his chapter on the theology of St. Paul is above criticism.

The Faith of a Realist. By JAMES COPNER, M.A. London: Williams & Norgate. 1890.

In this somewhat unpretentious volume, Mr. Copner gives us what is really a very able, logically arranged and logically developed reason for 'the faith that is in him.' That under the phenomenal lies the noumenal, and that the latter reveals its existence to us only by phenomena, is tacitly assumed by most of us, but it is not so easy to give a satisfactory explanation of how we come by that assumption—an explanation that justifies it to the logical understanding. It has puzzled the brains and tried the tempers of generations upon generations of thinkers. The 'demonstrations' of the realists have, one after the other, been weighed in the balance by their opponents, and been found wanting. The strife seems interminable. We do not say that Mr. Copner's argument, or series of arguments, here will end the strife. It will not satisfy those who must have what they call 'scientifically demonstrated proof' for everything they may be called upon to believe. Mr. Copner here grants that no such proof can be furnished. The existence of a world of realities under the phenomena of which alone we know anything, is, he confesses, an inference. What he seeks to do here is to justify that inference. He abundantly illustrates the largeness of the province which in the world of thought we can only reach by inference. Carefully distinguishing between phenomena and noumena, and between the methods of philosophy and those of science, he proceeds with patient step to show that the conclusions drawn as to what lies under phenomena are to be accepted and trusted. That matter is, that God is, that a beneficent providence presides over all, that good and evil work together towards a divine end, and that religion is a necessity of human nature, are all taken up in turn and dealt with. As to the qualities of matter, the attributes of God, the essence of religion, and so on, he has much to say which well merits the careful attention of all. Mr. Copner's book is never dull, and is stamped throughout with the impress of a mind of wide culture and power.

An Introduction to Social Philosophy. By JOHN S. MACKENZIE, M.A., etc. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1890.

Though accepting Mr. Herbert Spencer's distinction between Science and Philosophy, one has not to read far in Mr. Mackenzie's volume before discovering that he is not a follower of the Synthetic System of Philosophy, but a thorough Scoto-Hegelian. His object is not to add to the enormous volume of facts which Mr. Spencer and his assistants have so laboriously gathered together, but rather to discuss the principles underlying them, and to discover the ideal at which they point. Of the importance of this there can be no question, for as Mr. Mackenzie very distinctly points out, it is in the direction of social questions that most of the thought and criticism of the present runs. Many of the ideas and principles of conduct, he observes, 'by which men were formerly guided in dealing with the great questions of life, and the welfare of human beings in societies have been discredited and swept away. We are now engaged in groping our way to something new; and whether the new light is to be better than the old, will depend mainly on the thoroughness with which we set ourselves to discover what is ultimately true, and what is ultimately desirable towards social affairs.' The first of these positions is, we suspect, unchallengeable, and though social questions may be said to be as old as humanity, social philosophy under anything like its modern conception is a quite recent affair. Anything like a system Mr. Mackenzie does not attempt to build up. His book is distinctly what it professes to be, an 'Introduction,' and is for the most part critical. One thing which will strike the most cursory reader of its pages, is Mr. Mackenzie's profound sense of the vastness and intricacy of his subject, which together with the extreme caution and discrimination with which he writes, forms one of the most hopeful and excellent features of the volume. As to its arguments and reflections, it is impossible here to give anything like an adequate idea. The style is closely argumentative, but perhaps a little too self-conscious. If at times it is not readily understood, it is not because of any lack of clearness, but rather because of the novelty of the idea, and the fineness of the distinctions drawn. There are some passages which are almost epigrammatic, as for instance the following: 'Some people call themselves Socialists, as boys call themselves pirates and brigands, because they think it fine; some become Socialists as men become pirates and brigands, because they are driven to it by misery and despair; some are Socialists to please the mob, and some because they *are* the mob; and some again are inspired by the consciousness of a profound moral truth.' Here and there too are passages which are specially notable, as for instance the description of the social problem as presented by modern society. The discussion of the organic theory again is an excellent piece of analysis. Altogether the work is well done, thoughtful and cautious, distinguished by clearness of insight, abounding in valuable suggestions, and written throughout with a deep sense of the vastness of the subject with which it deals, and of the many and extreme difficulties by which it is beset. As an introduction to social philosophy it deserves to take a high place.

A Sketch of the History of Fife and Kinross: A Study in Scottish History and Character. By Æ. J. G. MACKAY, Sheriff of these Counties. Edinburgh & London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons. 1890.

No other district has had a greater influence on the history of Scotland than the little kingdom of Fife which formerly consisted of the two

modern counties of Fife and Kinross. As the author of *Round Fife with a Golf Cleik* has remarked 'Fife contains the concentrated essence of Scottish history and character.' In modern times among the men whom it has produced or who have made it their residence, are Thomas Carlyle and Edward Irvine, Chalmers, Adam Smith, Lord Campbell and Sir David Wilkie. Before these were Kirkaldy of Grange and the two Leslies; Sir Michael of Wemyss, Scotland's first Admiral; Sir Patrick Spens, the hero of the ballad; Sir Philip Wood of Largo, the Admiral of James III. and IV., and of whom, as Mr. Mackay reminds us, the anecdote is told, that when his ship, the Great St. Michael, had been sold, and he was too old to go to sea, he had a canal cut from his house of Largo to the parish Kirk along which he was rowed every Sunday to church in an eight-oared barge. Here too was the house of Alexander Selkirk, a sailor, whose singular fate has gained for him a wider renown than the Admiral just mentioned, through the accident which made his life the basis for Defoe's romance of 'Robinson Crusoe.' And as in war so in the arts of peace, and in politics, and religion, Fife has been the cradle or home of some of Scotland's most famous leaders. Of the four Scotsmen who have sat upon the English woosack, two were born there and one partly educated there, Brougham whom Mr. Mackay omits from his list being born and educated in Edinburgh. In the political and religious strifes which have agitated the country Fife has borne a conspicuous, perhaps unequalled part. The mention of Dunfermline, Falkland, Abernethy, and St. Andrews are sufficient to conjure up some of the most important scenes in Scottish history. The first is for ever associated with St. Margaret, the Queen of Malcolm Canmore, and the last with Knox, Beaton, and Sharp, Andrew Melville, and Spottiswoode, probably the most impartial of Church historians Scotland can boast of. Falkland, again, recalls the stirring times and history of the young Duke of Rothesay, and the not less stirring times of the Covenanters and the tragic history of Richard Cameron, while the mention of Abernethy carries us back to the old Pictish times, and the beginnings of Scottish history. The historical associations of Fife, in fact, are endless, and we cannot wonder that the Sheriff of the County has written a really admirable account of it. Local histories have not always the merit of being interesting. They are usually heavy and dull reading, and one takes them up only to consult them. Mr. Mackay, however, has written a book which is neither dull nor heavy. Those into whose hands it may fall will read it with pleasure. If not the best of our local histories it certainly comes very near it. We have noticed a few errors of dates and places, but these, will doubtless receive correction in future editions.

Scotland from the Earliest Times to the Present Century. By JOHN MACINTOSH, LL.D. London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1890. (Story of the Nation's Series.)

That Dr. Macintosh has written a very readable narrative of the history of the Scottish nation need hardly be said. The historian of Civilization in Scotland is too practised a hand to do anything less. As a whole, too, the narrative is picturesque and well proportioned. The less important events are slightly touched upon, while the greater moments in the history of the nation are treated with greater fulness. Going back to the beginning, he starts with the Iberian tribes of prehistoric times, and brings the narrative down to the present. As a first-book, or as a book for general reading, the work may with some reservations be commended; but as a manual of the history of Scotland, it falls short of our ideal. It is lacking in that con-

densation, precision, and judicial tone which in all such works is desirable. About the earlier chapters, dealing with the period so effectively treated of by Robertson and Skene, there is a certain indistinctness, and much more might have been put into the narrative without at all impairing its readableness. Something more might have been told us about the Celts, and the pages occupied by narrating the miracles of the Saints, and with repeating the speech which Tacitus has put into the mouth of Galgacus, might have been utilized to better purpose. Dr. Macintosh still persists in calling the birth-place of St. Columba *Gratan* instead of *Gartan*, and places the arrival of the Dalriad Scots in the sixth instead of in the fifth century. Of the arrival of the Scots in the south-western counties we hear nothing. Aidan, who was the real founder of the Dalriadic kingdom, is not mentioned. Then, again, though we have a fair account of Malcolm Canmore and his immediate successor, nothing is said of the queen of the former, nor of the very important influence she exercised both in the church and over her husband and the nation. On the other hand, coming down to more recent times we have an excellent account of the War of Independence. The discussion as to the advantages and disadvantages of the Union is very fair and impartial, and reflects in a measure the arguments which have been set forth in the pages of this Review. That the account of the Disruption controversy is as fair and impartial cannot be said. The statements and arguments are all on one side, and personal bias is allowed to take the place of historical judgment. Perhaps, however, the event is too recent to admit of more judicial treatment. In conclusion, it may be noted that Dr. Macintosh does not confine himself to the political and ecclesiastical history of the country. Here and there he has chapters or paragraphs treating of literature and art. The estimates are fair, but a history of Scottish literature is still wanting. From Dr. Macintosh's list some names which deserve a place are wanting.

Caledonia: or, A Historical and Topographical Account of North Britain from the Most Ancient to the Present Times, with a Dictionary of Places, Chorographical and Philological. By GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S., F.S.A. New Edition. Vols. V. and VI. Paisley: Alex. Gardner. 1889-90. his.

These two volumes complete the reprint of *Caledonia* as the work has hitherto been known to us. There is still to come the new matter which Chalmers left unprinted, and which, together with other of his MSS., has lain for a long time in an obscure corner of the Advocates' Library. But what is perhaps of more importance even than this, there is still wanting for the completion of the present edition the promised Index to the whole work. This has long been a thing desired by those who have had occasion to use *Caledonia*, and there can be no doubt that if it be thoroughly done, the utility and value of the whole work will be very greatly enhanced, and the time and temper of those who use it very largely saved. The two volumes before us deal with seven of the south-western counties. Reference to the introductory chapter will show that Chalmers intended to deal with eight — to begin with Dumfriesshire and to end with Stirlingshire. His account of the latter county he did not complete. Consequently the third volume of his work—the sixth of the new edition—in- stead of concluding with Stirlingshire as intended, concludes with an account of the county of Dumbartonshire. The mode of treatment is of course the same as in the previous volumes. Each county is dealt with under the eight sections: The Name, Situation and Extent, Natural Objects, Antiquities, Establishment as a Shire, Civil History, Agriculture,

and Ecclesiastical History. The counties actually treated of in the present volumes are, in addition to the two mentioned above, the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Wigtownshire, Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, and Renfrewshire. The mere mention of these is sufficient to suggest the immense amount of interesting matter the volumes contain. Few other counties in Scotland are richer in memorials of the past, and few have played a more important part in its history, whether civil or ecclesiastical. That Chalmers is always as full and accurate as he might be, no one will maintain; and his editor has not attempted, except in a few places, either to add to what he has said or to controvert his opinions. And wisely. The work is on so vast a scale that any attempt either to bring it up to date or to traverse his opinions would involve an amount of labour and learning which is almost immeasurable. As a book of reference, *Caledonia* will always remain, and notwithstanding the vast additions which have been made to our knowledge respecting the history of the counties of which he treated and the many antiquarian discoveries of recent times, it will always continue to be regarded as one of the greatest literary monuments of Chalmers' day.

Recherches sur l'origine de la Propriété Foncière et des noms de lieux habités en France (période celtique et période romaine).

Par H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, Membre de l'Institut, avec la collaboration de G. DOTTIN. Paris: Ernest Thorin. 1890.

M. d'Arbois de Jubainville is one of those scholars whose activity and learning seem to be inexhaustible. For some time back we have called attention to his labours in connection with the *Revue Celtique*, and not long ago we noticed the first volume of his remarkably able work on the Primitive Inhabitants of Europe, and here we have a volume equally learned, and running out to over 700 pages, dealing with the origin and history of landed property in France during the Celtic and Roman periods, and discussing the derivation or etymology of somewhere about a thousand place-names in the same country. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville has had the assistance of M. G. Dottin, his able collaborateur in connection with the *Revue Celtique*, but the main part of the work is apparently from his own hand. It divides itself into two parts, the first of which deals especially with the origin and history of landed property in France during the two periods referred to, while the object of the other is to show that in France a great number of inhabited places have derived their names from those of their ancient proprietors. The first part is purely historical. All such questions and theories as have been discussed by Bentham, Ballanche, and Laboulaye are avoided. In the first place, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville seeks for the origin of the idea of proprietorship in land in the pages of history, and then traces its development during the Celtic and Roman periods. The idea, he shows, originated in conquest, and first found a footing in France about 500 years before our era, when the Gauls crossed the Rhine and took possession of the country. With the conquest they assumed the right of proprietorship, dispossessing those whom they had vanquished, and distributing the land among themselves. Private ownership in the modern sense, however, was unknown; the land assigned to the various tribes and peoples was regarded not as private, but as public or collective property, with the exception perhaps of such portions of it as were actually built upon or enclosed around dwellings. At first sight this seems exceedingly democratic; but, as M. d'Arbois de Jubainville points out, no system of ownership agrees better with an aristocratic form of government or tells more favourably in the interests of the rich. Collective ownership does

not necessarily involve collective possession. Its tendency is to lend itself to increase the wealth of a comparatively small number, to give them a sort of superiority, and to make them virtually, though not legally, the owners of the land. It is they alone who have the means to utilise it, and the result is that they gradually come to divide the public domain among themselves, and to reap its fruits as if it actually belonged to them. Such was the result among the Gauls. Nevertheless, the proprietorship which the more wealthy among them sought to exercise, and often did exercise, was always precarious, and never received anything like legal sanction. The effect of the Roman conquest was to substitute for this collective or public ownership of the land the right of private ownership. Cæsar levied tribute; but under the system of imposts established by Augustus, the claims of the rich were turned into rights, and a system of land tenure similar to that which prevailed in other parts of the Empire was set up. All this is shown by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville with great wealth of learning and at considerable length. His purely historical argument is here and there lighted up by references to modern practices and theories, and to the systems of land tenure prevalent in modern France and Scotland. Ireland, both ancient and modern, is of course referred to, and M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, when commenting on the opinions of some of his compatriots in reference to the land question in that country, speaks of the 'généreuse équité' with which the British Government is now seeking 'à rétablir le domaine utile au profit du tenancier spolié.' The second part of the work, though formally an investigation into the origin of the names of inhabited places in France, is in reality a continuation of the argument in the earlier chapters. Names of water-courses and mountains are left aside as belonging for the most part to one or more languages anterior to the Celtic conquest. The names examined are those given to inhabited places not earlier than the Celtic period, and not later than the conquest of the country by the Franks. These names are for the most part derived from the names of ancient proprietors, and were originally used to designate the buildings which were at once the dwelling-place of the first proprietor and the centre of the agricultural labours which were directed by himself or carried on by his family. They are drawn from many MSS., both printed and unprinted, and from a variety of other sources. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville has classified them with great care, and in many instances differs from the conclusions arrived at by M. Jules Quicherat in his work *De la formation française des anciens noms de lieu*.

Lord Clive. By Colonel Sir CHARLES WILSON. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1890. (Men of Action Series.)

This is an excellent addition to an excellent series. It is more. It may safely be said to be the best account of Clive and his marvellous career which has yet appeared. Many other accounts of the same great soldier-statesman have been written, but for accuracy, impartiality, and literary skill, Sir Charles Wilson's is, so far as our own judgment goes, unrivalled. The style in which it is written is admirable: plain, simple, unvarnished, yet singularly picturesque and nervous. The introductory chapters giving an account of the history of India from the end of the seventeenth century down to the moment when Clive, as an unknown clerk in the service of the English Company, first set foot upon its shores, are models of clear and condensed statement, and leave a vivid impression on the mind both of the condition of the country and of the relations in

which the three European nations then struggling for supremacy stood to each other and to the native rulers. The same masterliness of treatment is manifest in all the remaining chapters. Though evidently regarding Clive somewhat in the light of a hero, Sir Charles Wilson is both impartial in his estimate of him and fair to his opponents. He does ample justice to the skill and genius of Dupleix, and speaks of him as 'the greatest Frenchman of his generation,' and as 'the first to conceive the brilliant idea of Indian Empire.' Of Clive's treatment of Omichund he attempts no palliation. 'No explanation,' he remarks, and most will agree with him, 'can remove the fact that it was simply and purely dishonourable, or efface the stain that it has left upon his character.' His final estimate of Clive is equally marked by soberness of judgment and good sense: 'Among the many illustrious men India has produced, none is greater than the first of her soldier-statesmen, whose successful career marks an era in the history of England and of the world. Great in council, great in war, great in his exploits, which were many, and great in his faults, which were few, Clive will ever be remembered as the man who laid deeply the foundations of our Indian Empire, and who in a time of national despondency restored the tarnished honour of the British arms.'

Peter Brough, a Paisley Philanthropist. By JAMES B. STURROCK, M.A. Paisley & London: Alex. Gardner. 1890.

Paisley, it would appear, has had many philanthropists or at least benefactors, and measured by the amount of their benefactions none deserves to stand higher than the subject of Mr. Sturrock's biography. Born at Scone, apprenticed a draper, and failing, after serving his time, to obtain a situation in Edinburgh or Glasgow, he settled down at Paisley, and there lived a prosperous and methodical life. His chief aim seems to have been to 'get on,' and he succeeded. He entered Paisley with little more than the traditional sixpence and notwithstanding one or two severe reverses died worth over £153,000, which, with a few deductions, he left for religious and charitable purposes in the town where he had prospered. The first part of Mr. Sturrock's biography of him is a little sketchy, but the greater part of it, notably from the point where he is able to avail himself of Mr. Brough's Diary and balance sheets it is fuller and as a result, more interesting. Mr. Sturrock, indeed, has shown great tact in allowing the subject of his biography to speak for himself. He was evidently a clearly-headed, sober-minded, capable man of business. For a shop-keeper he took a considerable part in public affairs and his notes on such events as the Disruption controversy as well as those on his business and investments will be read with interest. At the same time Mr. Brough was warm-hearted and kindly. To his relatives he appears to have been generous. One or two stories in the book, however, would almost lead one to suppose that on occasions he was just a little stingy. But be that as it may, the crowning act of his life was the disposition of his well-earned wealth, which, unless some future Royal Commission intervene, will cause his name to be remembered in Paisley for all time coming with gratitude.

The Works of William Shakespeare. Edited by Henry Irving and Frank A. Marshall, with Notes and Introductions to each Play, by F. A. MARSHALL, and other Shakespearian Scholars, and numerous Illustrations by Gordon Browne. Vol. VIII. London and Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1890.

We have here the eighth and concluding volume of this very important

and excellent edition of Shakespeare's Works. There is something of sadness about its appearance. The editor who planned the edition and executed most of the work connected with it, has not lived to see its completion. In his death the world has lost one of its most accomplished Shakespearian scholars, as well as the Introduction for the writing of which he had made such elaborate preparations. The only piece of work we have from his hand is his edition of Hamlet, so far as he had completed it, before the pen fell from his grasp, and Mr. Arthur Symons was obliged to take his place. The other contents of the volume are King Henry VIII., by the last mentioned scholar. Pericles, Prince of Tyre, by P. Z. Round, and the Poems by Mr. A. Wilson Verity. Mr. Henry Irving contributes a brief Prefatory Note, in which he speaks of his long friendship with Mr. Frank Marshall and pays a just tribute to his great ability as a Shakespearian scholar, and to his iron resolution in carrying on, when health was failing him, the work connected with the present edition. For the writing of the General Introduction no more competent hand could have been called in than Dr. Dowden's. In the compass of about sixty pages he has managed to tell all that is known about the great dramatist, and to set before the reader the greater part of the many questions which have been discussed in connection with his works. Dr. Dowden writes with great discrimination, is not dogmatic, and places his readers in possession of the most recent theories and conjectures. In addition to being an excellent piece of writing, the Introduction shows Dr. Dowden at his best as a critic. His grouping of the plays and his characterisation of them have much to commend them, and are almost sure to meet with general approval. One thing we miss is a note on the many translations which have been made of the plays. As might be expected the Notes and Introduction to Hamlet are exhaustive and marked by rare scholarship. In his Introduction to King Henry VIII. Mr. Arthur Symons discusses very fully the many difficult points connected with that play. The problems connected with the Sonnets are once more discussed by Mr. Wilson Verity, but to him, as to others, they are insoluble. He is inclined to recognise in the 'begetter of the Sonnets' the Earl of Pembroke rather than the Earl of Southampton, and to accept Professor Minto's suggestion that the 'rival poet' was Chapman. As it now stands the 'Henry Irving Shakespeare' can claim to be one of the most complete and perfect editions of the great Playwright's works ever published, and all connected with its production deserve to be congratulated on the termination of their labours.

Light in Africa. By the Rev. JAMES MACDONALD. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1890.

Mr. Macdonald left London in July 1875 for the South African Mission field, where he spent upwards of a dozen years. During 1878 he was on furlough, but returned in time to hear on the first of February 1879 the news of the disaster which had befallen Lord Chelmsford's ill-starred expedition: His labours were at first chiefly confined to Blythwood in the Transkei, but were afterwards extended over a wide reach of country, and appear to have been finally terminated with the Establishment of the Free Church Mission in East Griqualand. The year 1883 seems to have been the most active and busy year of his service. During it, he tells us, he travelled 3,400 miles on horseback, and was away from home a hundred and fifteen nights. That he has had abundant opportunity therefore of seeing Southern Africa and of becoming acquainted with its tribes both during peace and war need hardly be said. Few men have had more or put them to better use. There is less in his book about preaching and the spread of Christianity than one would naturally expect; but of these, as he

very truly observes, the public is well informed from other sources. In the volume before us he reports something of his secular experience of African missionary life, though here and there he has a good deal that is extremely interesting to tell of what is usually understood as mission work. As the head of the Blythwood Institution he has naturally many welcome facts to relate in connection with the progress of Education among the natives of South Africa, in which he has himself had no small hand. His war reminiscences are useful as well as graphically written, and help us to understand the spirit and organisations of the people, the dangers to which the missionaries were exposed, and the part they had to play in the recent campaigns. But the chapter which will in all probability meet with the greatest acceptance in Mr Macdonald's excellent volume is the one on the customs and habits of the natives. Here he has recorded a large number of the traditions of the different tribes he came in contact with and describes very many of their customs, such for instance as those which are practised at births, marriages, and funerals. Many of them we have of course met with elsewhere; but in the eighty pages Mr. Macdonald has devoted to them we have as good an account of them as is anywhere to be found. Another chapter which deserves special attention is entitled 'Stray Studies of Animal Life.' Altogether, though unostentatious, Mr. Macdonald's volume is in reality one of the best contributions to our knowledge of South Africa and its uncivilized tribes we have had.

Greek Pictures: Drawn with Pen and Pencil. By J. P. MAHAFFY, M.D. D.D., etc., London. Religious Tract Society. 1890.

At last Greece has got its place in this deservedly popular series of books. There have been good reasons for delay. Pencil sketches of Greece are not numerous. Even the photographer who penetrates into the country is concerned more with its ancient monuments than with its natural features or scenery; and for the very good reason that the former lend themselves to his art, while the latter do not, at least, not in such a way as to convey to us anything like an adequate idea of their beauty. There is something about a landscape which cannot be represented by the camera. Only the painter's pencil can at all approximate to its charms. In the volume before us an attempt has been made, so far as the wood-engravers art would allow, to do justice both to the most important remains of antiquity and to the natural scenery. But the most striking feature of the book is the pen sketches. These are drawn by Dr. Mahaffy, and a more competent hand could not have been found. His acquaintance with Hellas is as great as his knowledge of his own country, and in his knowledge of its history, art, and literature, he has few rivals. Here and there familiar passages are reproduced from his *Rambles and Studies in Greece*. Frequent reference is also made to his other works on Greece, and also to the works of Dr. Schliemann. Here and there too we have an apt citation from Herodotus or Pausanias. As an introduction to the study of Greece or its history the work is admirable. In our own opinion it is the most charming volume of the series, and deserves to be read both by young and old.

Scenes and Stories of the North of Scotland. By JOHN SINCLAIR. Illustrated. Edinburgh: James Thin. 1890.

Mr. Sinclair has written this volume, he tells us, with the three-fold aim: to awaken interest, to stimulate, and to amuse, and there can be little doubt we imagine that wherever his book is read it will succeed in its aim. The scenes he describes are in the far North or West, Ross-shire,

Caithness, Sutherland, the Shetlands, and the island of Lewis. With all these districts Mr. Sinclair seems thoroughly familiar and discourses about them in a manner which is at once entertaining and instructive. The scenery, geography and geology of the various districts come in of course for a large share of his attention; but what is probably of more importance than this, and what most readers, we imagine, will regard as the most entertaining, if not instructive, part of the volume is its information respecting the manners and customs, folk lore and social and intellectual condition of the people. Mr. Sinclair has many notes also on the climate and weather and some of his experiences in connection with them are not a little amusing; but the human interest of his book surpasses every other. For the many good stories he relates, Mr. Sinclair claims that they are known to but a few and that they have never before appeared in print. It seems to us that he might have made almost the same claim for many of the manners and customs he relates. Such customs, for instance, as the Lewis mode of striking up a matrimonial contract or the marriage customs in the same island cannot be known except through intimate acquaintance with the people. In the chapter on Caithness Mr. Sinclair turns aside to history and gives some account of the Sinclairs. In another chapter we have a description of the famous standing stones at Callernish. These, Mr. Sinclair tells us, had no doubt some connection with the Druids and their worship. That may be; but most people who have studied the questions connected them, have not his faith.

Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, Fourth Year, MDCCCLXXXIX. Aberdeen: Printed for the Society. 1890.

This is one of those local publications which, besides being extremely useful because of the character of the information they convey, are often by no means undistinguished by merits of a different sort. The society whose 'transactions' it records has its seat in the cold grey town of the north, famous at once for its university and its clippers, and in and around which are several more or less important ecclesiastical monuments. Its object is to promote the study of the principles of Christian worship, of church architecture and the allied arts, and to diffuse throughout the north of Scotland sounder views and truer taste in such matters. These aims are undeniably good, and judging from the volume of transactions before us the society is not wanting in the requisite taste, learning, and zeal. At the present moment, when there is so much vandalism abroad, such societies deserve every encouragement, especially when, as in the case of the one we are referring to, they use their influence for the preservation of buildings of ecclesiastical or artistic interest from the hand of the injudicious restorer as well as of the ruthless destroyer. Coming to the contents of the volume, they are both varied and interesting. In the abstract of the Society's Proceedings, we have references to the 'Church of the Ark' at Apameia in Phrygia; to the discovery at Rome on the Cœlian Hill under the Basilica of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, of the remains of a large Christian mansion decorated with cycles of symbolic Christian paintings; to the new Barony Church at Glasgow, and to the ancient church at Monymusk. Of the papers printed *in extenso*, the first is entitled 'Note on the Churches of S. Mary the Virgin, Ellon.' Mr. N. K. McLeod, the author of the paper, besides giving a description of the church recently erected there, enters with considerable detail into the ecclesiastical history of the parish, referring to its ancient Columban foundation, the Cistercian Abbey by which it was replaced, and the 'magnifica domus' built near the Cistercian Church by Abbot Thomas Crystal in 1532. In a note which is

appended to this paper, Dr. Gammack endeavours to explain the meaning of the frequently occurring term 'scoloc.' The note is not very conclusive, though a good deal may be said in favour of the contention that the term was originally the designation for a small farmer, and gradually came to be used as the name for 'all that class of clergy that is likely to be recruited from the small farmer class, that is, to all the lower classes, such as chaplains in chantries, side country charges, and the like.' Mr. G. A. Smith contributes a paper on the Influence of Mountains on Worship, and Mr. J. C. Carrick gives an interesting description of Archbishop Leighton's Newbattle Library, and incidentally mentions the curious fact that the stones used in the erection of the existing parish church were used in the construction of its predecessor, and were previously taken out of the walls of the ancient monastery. Mr. T. N. Adamson has a learned paper on the Dunkeld Litany, from which we learn that he has adapted this ancient relic of the Celtic period of the Church of Scotland for modern use, and has it sung every Friday. A similar contribution from the pen of Mr. J. Cooper deals with the fragment of an Office for the visitation and communion of the sick which occurs in the Book of Deer. Besides a slight description of the Book of Deer and analyses of similar Offices in the Books of Dimma and Molling, Mr. Cooper supplies a translation which, though in some respects commendable, is not always accurate. There are several other papers of interest in the volume. The illustrations are excellent.

The Sun, 1889-1860 (Alex. Gardner) is full of interesting and very readable matter. The two main attractions are 'There and Back,' by Dr. George Macdonald, and 'For Better for Worse,' by Gordon Roy. Dr. Macdonald has done better work than 'There and Back.' The whole story is told in the first three chapters, and yet the tale runs out to some sixty-two. There is a more than ordinary amount of preaching and sermonising. 'For Better for Worse' is more lively. But the special feature of the magazine is its short papers. These are of the most varied description, and are always bright and entertaining. Dr. Japp discourses on ancient History in a series of chapters entitled 'In the Youth of the World.' C. G. Furley and C. O'Connor Eccles contribute a series of studies from the Romance of History, and Professor Church a series of 'Pictures from Roman Story.' M. L. Barbé describes the Channel Islands, and Mr. Barnett Smith has several papers on the 'Lives, Disappointments, and Marriages of Great Men.' There are also papers on 'Modern Greece,' 'The Chinese,' 'Modern Greek Songs,' 'The Forth Bridge,' 'The Bastile,' 'Touching for the King's Evil,' 'Strange Religious Sects in Russia,' and 'Eminent Women.' Altogether this skilfully edited monthly amply justifies its claim to be a 'Magazine for General Readers,' and merits its success.

Health at Home Tracts, by Alfred Schofield, M.D. (Religious Tract Society), contains some very useful and practical advice on the preservation of health and the treatment of the sick. The tracts are in all twelve, and treat of such matters as how to avoid premature death, breathing and ventilation, blood poisons, the nursing of the children and the sick, cleanliness, food and clothing.

English Lyrics, by Alfred Austin (Macmillan), is a selection of lyrical poems and extracts from the poetical works of Mr. Austin, edited by Mr. William Watson. The selection has been well made, and Mr. Watson contributes a very readable preface in which he discusses the part which Nature plays in Mr. Austin's poetical writings, and justifies the title which he has given to the volume, maintaining, and justly, that a noble filial

love of country, and a tenderly passionate love of the country are its two dominant notes.

'*For Christ and City!*' (Macmillan) is a collection of sermons and addresses delivered in and around Liverpool by the Rev. C. W. Stubbs, M.A., the rector of Wavertree. The first is what is known as a 'charity sermon' and gives some account of the Blue Coat Hospital, Liverpool. The second is mainly remarkable for the author's reminiscences of Sir John Picton, the late Town-Clerk of Liverpool. Among other things Mr. Stubbs mentions that Sir John was always learning and that but shortly before his death he began the study of Mæso-Gothic. There is a vigorous paper on the Social Creed of the Church and a lecture on the late F. D. Maurice, which like the sermon on Sir John Picton, contains many personal reminiscences. Among the rest of the sermons may be mentioned one on 'The English Church and Historic Continuity' and another on 'Church Comprehension and Reform.'

The Country Clergyman and his Work (Macmillan) consists of six lectures on Pastoral Theology delivered in the Divinity School, Cambridge, during the May Term of last year, by the Rev. Herbert James, M.A. They deal with the character and condition of the people over whom the country clergyman is placed, his preaching, visiting and influence, parochial organizations, and parochial education. On all these subjects Mr. James gives very sound and sensible advice. As to preaching he says: 'Preach to fulness, not to satiety.' 'Be careful to draw out your own thoughts.' 'Don't plough with other men's heifers.' And again, 'I am not clear as to the advantage of reading a printed sermon in the pulpit; though some of our Bishops have recommended the practice, and the Books of Homilies are quoted in support of it. But the practice might become too permanent, whilst the Homilies were intended for a less advanced and educated ministry than that of our own day. No! a living freshness of teaching gives the promise of freshness of life in the taught.' These are samples of the common sense with which Mr. James teaches, and of the thoroughly practical character of his lectures.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling's collection of Anglo-Indian stories *Plain Tales from the Hills* (Macmillan) deserves all the praise it has received. Whatever may be his ability in the higher walks of fiction, his ability as a story-teller or for narrating such incidents, whether real or fictitious, as are here put together is beyond question. They are told with ease, force and directness. The humorous stories are probably the best, but whether humorous or grave, and there are both in the volume, they throw considerable light both on certain phases of European Society in India and on numerous aspects of native Indian life. There is not an uninteresting story in the volume, and one closes the book with the desire to read the 'other stories' Mr. Kipling so often alludes to, and somewhat tantalisingly passes over.

In *A South Sea Lorer* (Macmillan) Mr. Alfred St. Johnstone has struck upon a new vein, and has worked it with remarkable skill. His book has the advantage of taking the reader away from the heated rooms and often fetid atmosphere of civilization to the fresh breezes and freedom and glorious scenery of the islands of the Pacific. Long residence there has made him well acquainted with the manners and customs, sentiments and ideals of the inhabitants of at least one of the groups of the islands. Soma, his South Sea lover, is a magnificent specimen of untutored humanity, who notwithstanding his superstition and want of culture wins ones admiration for his devotion as well as for his noble conception of what is due from

him as a 'blood-brother.' His character is drawn with unquestionable skill and the whole story is healthy and invigorating. Mr. St. Johnstone has paid great attention to his descriptions of scenery, and magnificent as they are, from what we have learnt from other sources they are not overdrawn.

The Squatter's Dream (Macmillan) is another of Mr. Rolf Boldrewood's stories of Australian life. Though much quieter than *Robbery under Arms* and of a different character it is not less able as a work of fiction and should be read in this country both as a work of art and for the picture it affords of Australian life. The Squatter's life while healthy enough, is not without its cares and excitements. Vaulting ambition is apt to overleap itself on the sheep runs of the Australian plains as well as on the markets and in the Courts of civilized Europe. How Jack Redgrave 'a jolly well to-do young Squatter' thirsted for more riches than are represented by 'a couple of thousand good cattle, a well-bred, rather fortunate stud, and a roomy, cool cottage with a broad verandah, all covered with reefers,' how he sought to push his fortunes, what mishaps befell him, and how he settled down once more on the place he had formerly despised, together with a lot of other things incident to living in the Australian bush is here told, and told as only the author of *Robbery under Arms* can tell it.

Wheat and Tares (Macmillan) by Sir Henry S. Cunningham, K.C.I.E., is a modern society story, the principal scene of which is laid in a sea-side town not far from a Cathedral city. An Anglican Dean, an Archdeacon, a rector who becomes a professor, figure in it, and the society is somewhat churchy. The ecclesiastics, however, are decidedly human. They are mixed up with a number of men and women whose ecclesiastical leanings are not strong, and together they form a circle in which there is much life, much spirit, good manners, and plenty of culture. The excellences of the story are many and rare. There is an air of naturalness and reality about it from beginning to end. The conversational passages are remarkably good, sparkling, epigrammatic and easy, with here and there an undercurrent of quiet humour. The finer shades of thought and character are often illustrated with great ingenuity and everywhere there is the impress of good taste and refined feeling. In many respects, indeed, the novelette deserves to be called brilliant. From an artistic point of view it is one of the most effective works we have seen for some time.

Blackie's Modern Cyclopaedia of Universal Information has reached its last volume but one, and runs in this seventh volume from POT to SKA. Like the previous volumes this also abounds in illustrations and maps. The articles are as usual short and pithy and contain as much as can fairly be looked for in a work of its size. As to its handiness there can be no question, and to those who have not the time to consult a larger work or the means to procure one, it cannot fail to prove eminently acceptable. Among biographical articles we have short but good pieces on Sir John Rennie, Raynouard, the French poet and philologist, Ray, the naturalist, Rask, the Danish philologist, Raphael, Peter Ramus, Henry Purcell, Pulteney, Proudhon, Robespierre, Richardson, the novelist, Richelieu, Rubens, and Rousseau, Shakespeare and Shelley. There is a good article on Parliamentary Reporting. Among geographical articles may be mentioned those on Rome, Russia, Siberia and Scotland, the last occupying some twenty-three columns. There are articles on the Seven Sleepers, the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, the Seven Stars, the Seven Wise Masters, the Seven Wise Men, and the Seven Wonders of the World.

